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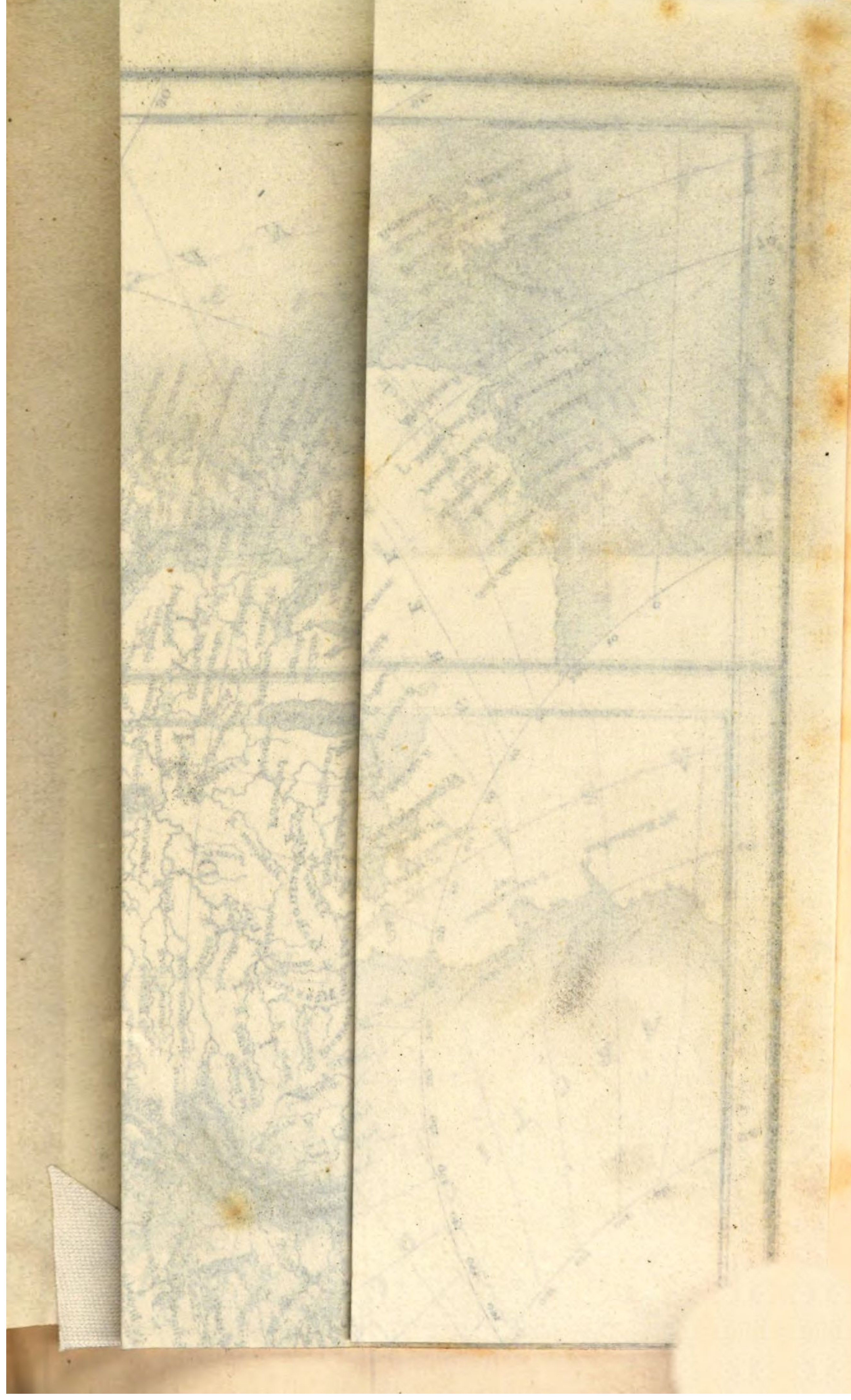
EMIGRATION FIELDS.

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# EMIGRATION FIELDS.

NORTH AMERICA, THE CAPE, AUSTRALIA,

AND

NEW ZEALAND,

DESCRIBING THESE COUNTRIES, AND GIVING A  
COMPARATIVE-VIEW OF THE ADVANTAGES THEY  
PRESENT TO BRITISH SETTLERS.

BY

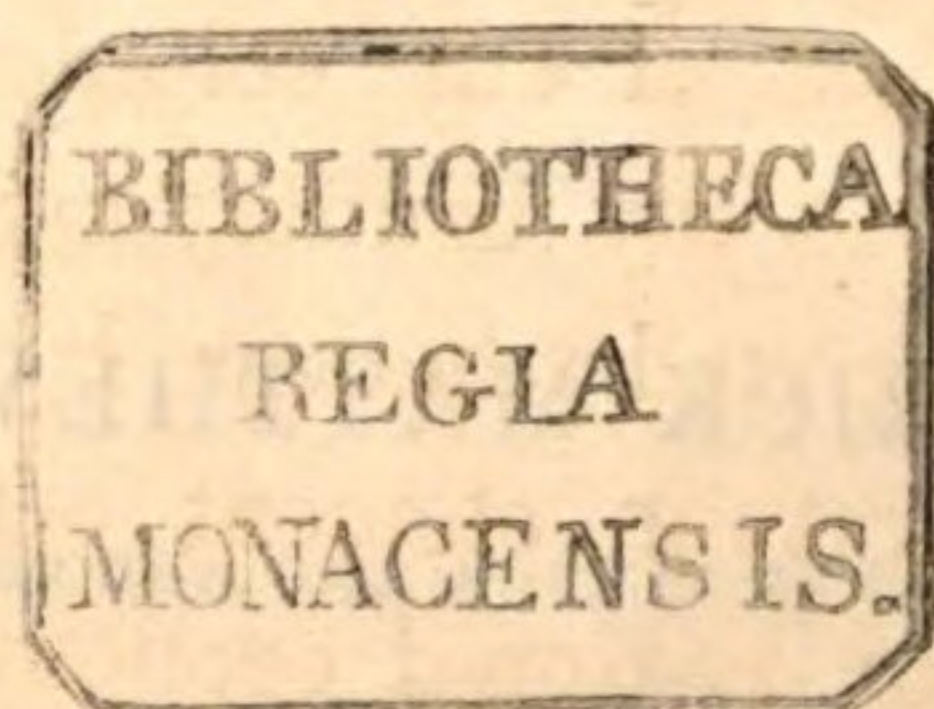
PATRICK MATTHEW,

AUTHOR OF "NAVAL TIMBER AND ARBORICULTURE."

ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK, EDINBURGH ;  
LONGMAN, ORME, BROWN, GREEN AND LONGMANS,  
LONDON.

1839.







## TO THE PUBLIC.

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THIS work at first consisted only of the part which relates to New Zealand. When I stated to my Publisher that I had a work in the press upon the Colonization of New Zealand, he objected to the limitation of the subject, and advised me to treat also of the neighbouring country, Australia. This led me to reflect, whether I had not such a knowledge of the subject of our colonies generally, as might be of use to my countrymen who were inclined to emigrate, and whether I could not shew how very important an element emigration might be rendered in our national economy. After deliberating, I resolved to extend the work to colonization generally, and, in the following sheets, I have at least given an honest sketch of those fields which are open to British Emigration. What I regret is, that the first portion having been hurriedly written, while the second portion was in types, and while I was a good deal engaged with other occupations, it is not so full in description and reflection as



it would have been under other circumstances ; but this may be counterbalanced in its being, in consequence, more condensed and generalized in its views.

It may be objected to this work, that too much attention has been bestowed on the political relations and prospects of our Emigration Fields. A little consideration will however convince the objector, that this is not the case. The progress of colonies depends almost entirely upon their political relations ; besides, whilst I wished to afford the most correct and comprehensive account for the information of Emigrants, I wished also to render the work such as the Statesman and Economist might peruse.

The proposed Pacific steam-communication *via* the Isthmus of Darien, will soon bring New Zealand, and the fine countries on the west coast of North America, within little more than a month's voyage. In regard to New Zealand in particular, there is, I would almost say, a wilful blindness to its importance as a commercial and maritime station, and invaluable raw-material field of supply. The sagacious Franklin was aware of its importance, and drew up a plan for its colonization. Gibraltar, Malta, the Bermudas, the Mauritius, Quebec, are comparatively valueless. But because these are hallowed by recollections of their importance in past times, we continue to regard them as invaluable, and disregard what, in reference to the future trade of Britain, and of the world, and as a com-



manding naval station, will be found in value tantamount to all these put together.

Much has been said, and with much truth, of the excessive toil and insufficient remuneration of the working-men in Britain. It is easy to expatiate and be eloquent upon a subject so palpably distressing ; but has any plan been suggested for the quiet and just extirpation of the evil equally effectual with that proposed in the ensuing pages ?

The condition of man, more especially in Britain, is upon the eve of a great change. Facility of production has become so great, that one-third the labour, nay, even less than a third, that was required half a century ago, can now supply him with the necessaries and comforts of life. The facility of communication,—of traffic with, and emigration to, the most distant parts of the world, is now equally advanced ; the whole of the unpeopled regions of the earth may now be said to be British ground, and the gate is opened to an exceedingly improved field for human labour and vast increase of British race. *The working-men of Britain are determined that they will no longer be restrained from reaping the fruits of these advantages, by monopolies and regulations, which cause these discoveries and improvements to administer only to the luxury of a particular class.* The working-men see, that the means of moral improvement and rational human enjoyment, are now within their reach. The capabilities of man for hap-



piness, and for moral advancement, has hitherto been suffered to run waste. The elements of a new condition of things are all procured, and there is only awaiting a proper arrangement and social organization, to afford a sufficiency of all that renders life delightful and innocent to the whole human family,—a condition of things which causes the heart to swell and beat within us.

PATRICK MATTHEW.

GOURDIE-HILL,

26th November 1838.



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## ERRATA.

The first seven Chapters of this Volume having been hurriedly written, and the writer at a distance from the place of Printing, a number of errors and faults of composition have been overlooked. The writer hopes that the amount of condensed useful information will counterbalance them. The following are a few of the most prominent errors.

|      |      |      |     |                                                  |
|------|------|------|-----|--------------------------------------------------|
| Page | 21,  | line | 4,  | from bottom, <i>for as read is</i>               |
|      | 23,  |      | 16, | <i>for causes read cases</i>                     |
|      | 28,  |      | 9,  | <i>for has read have</i>                         |
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|      | 74,  |      | 7,  | <i>for can read being able to</i>                |
|      | 76,  |      | 4,  | <i>for the read this</i>                         |
|      | 91,  |      | 17, | <i>for One read Our</i>                          |
|      | 109, |      | 19, | <i>before the insert and</i>                     |
|      | 166, |      | 23, | <i>for though read through</i>                   |
|      | 178, |      | 5   | <i>from foot, for by the read taken by</i>       |
|      | 178, |      |     | <i>bottom line, for principle read principal</i> |
|      | 187, |      | 6   | <i>from bottom, for is read are</i>              |
|      | 190, |      |     | <i>lowest line, for principle read principal</i> |
|      | 199, |      | 3,  | <i>insert comma after labour</i>                 |



## EMIGRATION FIELDS.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### UTILITY OF EMIGRATION AND COLONIES.

BRITAIN, at the present moment, exhibits man in a position altogether new, from the extensive application of steam power and improved machinery in aid of human labour. By means of these facilities to production, together with combined labour, the work of man has been rendered doubly efficient in raising food, and many times more efficient in fabricating clothing, and other human requisites. An immense available power and surplus labour supply has thus been developed, limited in the field of food production by our confined territory, restricted in the field of manufacturing production by our home food-monopoly. A great change in the relative proportion of labour and capital requisite for production has also taken place, and human labour, in part superseded by steam power and machinery, has undergone a comparative depreciation of value. The usual balance of demand and supply of labour being thus



deranged, has caused occasional gluts, and it may require a time, and much further misery may ensue, risking political convulsion, before the social economy adjust itself, unassisted, to the new order of things.

One of the most prominent consequences of this new order, is the great comparative increase of number of the non-producing classes (the holders of accumulated wealth—the idle recipients of income) and the unprecedented extent of their comforts and luxuries, while the condition of the working-class, instead of improving, has deteriorated—(see Appendix A). Had the free-trade system been adopted contemporaneously with this available increase of power of production, the condition of the working-class would, no doubt, have improved in nearly an equal degree, as an almost unlimited demand for our manufactures, in exchange for the food and raw produce of the Continent, would have taken place. But as this system, however much to be desired, is wanting, and the mischievous effects of our restrictive system already in part irremediable, humanity calls upon us to endeavour to devise some other means of effecting an improvement in the condition of the working-class, but of such a nature, as not to impede the attainment of free trade.

Prevented by our trade-restrictive system from obtaining a market in foreign nations for the immense surplus fabrics which this vast increase of power is capable of producing, there is only one other available resource,—*to transplant our surplus working-population to new lands.* This would not only bring about a salutary balance in our home economy, but at the same time, by raising up new and most valuable cus-



tomers, would afford wide and extending fields of consumption, commensurate with the future increase of our powers of production. In the present condition of Britain, it is even probable that a system of colonization, judiciously planned and *sufficiently* followed out, would eventually be equally promotive of the comfort and happiness of the working-population of Britain, as if free trade were to give full scope to the employment of the whole working-population at home, and at the same time be more influential in improving the race of man generally. Change of place within certain limits of latitude, seems to have a tendency to improve the species equally in animals as in plants, and agricultural and trading occupations are far more congenial to health and increase, than manufacturing occupations. It cannot therefore be doubted that the increase of the British race (evidently a superior race), and their extension over the world, and even the vigour of the race itself, will be more promoted by this colonizing system, than by the utmost freedom of trade without the colonizing system, and the turning of our entire energies to manufacturing industry.

This attempt to draw attention to colonization proceeds from no wish to check the present national effort to obtain free trade ! Colonial intercourse is in effect a circumscribed kind of free trade, under peculiarly favourable circumstances ; *and the amazing increase, and vast extent and advantage, of our colonial trade, is the most direct proof of the advantage, not only to Britain, but to mankind, which would result from free trade over all.* Every enactment to prevent the exchange of the produce of labour between man and



man, and nation and nation, if the article is not injurious to health and morals, is truly diabolic. All who have aided in these enactments ought to be held up to the detestation of mankind as repressers of industry, as promoters of misery, as ministers of evil, selfishly bent upon rendering abortive the good which a benevolent Providence has designed for man, in forming one portion of the earth more fitted for the seat of manufacturing industry and trade, and other portions for the peculiar production of various kinds of food and raw material, thus calculated, by giving rise to a reciprocity of advantageous intercourse, to promote an enlightening and friendly connection, and to diffuse science, morality, the arts of life, all that conduces to improvement and happiness, over the nations.

In the event of our own Legislature adopting the free-trade system, the introduction of the colonizing, by rendering Great Britain more independent of foreign nations, will be a means of inducing these nations also to agree to a reciprocity of free-trade; whereas, were we soliciting the free exchange of commodities, and apparently dependent upon these nations for a market, there would be no end to the haggling of their selfish and ignorant governments. In this view, therefore, colonization is a step to the attainment of general free trade throughout the world; at any rate, the increase of our trade and manufactures, sequent to an extensive emigration, by diffusing intelligence and wealth, must sooner bring about the free-trade system.

The mind is almost overwhelmed in contemplating the prospects of improvement in the general condi-



tion of humanity, now opening through the medium of British colonization, and the consequent diffusion of the elevating and meliorating influences of British liberty, knowledge, and civilization. One great free naval people, aided by all the discoveries of modern science, and united under the attractions of a common literature, and the reciprocal advantage of the exchange of staple products, increasing rapidly in numbers, and ramifying extensively over numerous maritime regions, will soon overshadow continental despotisms, and render them innocuous.

From the unlimited supply of new land, colonies are especially fitted for a connection with Britain. Being in the opposite extremes of condition, they are in the highest degree mutually beneficial, the former affording the raw material in exchange for the more laboured products of industry of the latter, while at the same time the colonists are by habit great consumers of British manufactures. What is required is, that the extension of colonization should go hand in hand with the extension of manufactures, thus generating new markets in proportion to the increase of fabrics.

But, at the present moment, it is as a salutary drain to our overstocked labour-market, that colonization is so vitally necessary. To bring things to a healthy state, a vast exportation of working-population must in the first place be effected, and to keep them so, a constant great stream of emigration must be afterwards kept up. And in proportion as this efflux is properly regulated, will, at the same time, the condition of the people at home and abroad be prosperous, and the population progressive.



That colonization is merely sowing the seeds of future prosperity, is proved by the clearest and most direct evidence. The perfection and extent of our manufactures—the source of our national wealth and of the value of our landed property, are manifestly owing to the demand and supply of the United States, and the other colonies which we have planted; our trade to these far exceeding that to all the world besides. Emigration to fruitful new lands, where our superabundant capital and population would be employed to the greatest advantage and most rapidly enlarged, *by which our paupers would be transformed into rich customers* (our greatest evil turned to our greatest good), is in policy and humanity alike our interest and our duty, as being the clear and direct road to prosperity. Under a properly regulated colonization, the most sanguine can scarcely form a conjecture of the extent to which our manufacturing and commercial greatness might be carried, and the comfort and happiness to which all classes might attain.

Under a properly regulated colonization, to obey the common instincts of nature, “to increase and multiply,” instead of being, as it too frequently has been in Britain, a curse, will become, as in the United States, a blessing. *Things have been so far misdirected hitherto, that the greatly increased facilities of production of what is necessary to the comfort and pleasurable existence of man, which, under proper direction, ought to have benefited all classes, has only administered to the luxury of a comparatively small number, the property class.* So sensible are the working men in England of this, that they have considered facility of



production their enemy, and have had recourse to the most pernicious and atrocious practices,—machinery-breaking, and burning of agricultural produce, to prevent it. The old system of English poor-law (perhaps the worst that could have been invented) and the new amendment, are equally ineffectual to accomplish the end desired,—the prevention of human misery,—the removal of those sufferings arising from inadequate employment or inadequate remuneration, evils for which there can be no effectual remedy save an increased or improved field of labour ; and this, as formerly stated, is obtainable in Britain only by free trade or by extensive emigration, but most effectually by both. The prudential check, from which so much has been expected, is but an irksome and unnatural palliative, scarcely preferable to the natural destructive check itself.\* Nothing can be more pernicious than poor-law contributions, and charitable givings, and bequests of all descriptions, at least as these matters have been conducted. It is merely *a nursing of misery*,—keeping up a vast number of unemployed people, ready at all times, should labour come a little more into demand, to compete with those in employment, and keep down wages to the lowest pitch that the animal machine can be kept working upon.

Charity is not less injurious as interfering with the great law of nature, by which pain and death are the

\* While two-thirds of the world are lying almost waste, and the other third very imperfectly cultivated, it is yet rather premature to speak of preventive or destructive checks,—war, nunneries, infanticide, single blessedness. The latter, recommended as preferable to colonization by political economists, may be left to their own especial practice.



established penalty of ignorance, idleness, and improvidence ; enjoyment and life the reward of knowledge, industry, and forethought. Alms or relief to the poor is clearly an interference with, or a subversion of, this natural law, and though it does not prevent the suffering sequent to the former, it destroys the advantages sequent to the latter, and only promotes general misery. It is to the purposes of colonization that the English poor-rates and other charitable bequests, now worse than uselessly consumed in nursing up the improvident poor and keeping down the industrious, should be converted. (See Appendix B.)

A sufficient emigration of the labour-classes would increase the labour-demand, and raise wages so high, that every one able and willing to work would obtain a competency for the support of a family, and even of a parent in infirm old age, in case of necessity ; thus cutting up pauperism by the roots, and leaving the bastiles, the poverty-prisons in the south of England, untenanted. In the United States of America nearly all the marriageable people enter the marriage state and find a family advantageous to the increase of their wealth and comfort. This arises from the favourable field for industry, and the social advantages they enjoy. Nothing hinders Great Britain from enjoying these, and even greater advantages, but her own stupid and guilty neglect. In many respects she is equally favourably circumstanced as America, in some much more favourably. Her climate is better, her capital beyond comparison greater, her machinery and aids of human labour and advantages of combined labour vastly superior, her new unpeopled territory more ex-



tensive and more favourably situated for trade, and equally easily reached,—it is not more difficult for a native of Britain to emigrate beyond seas to her colonies, than for an inhabitant of the Atlantic States to go to the banks of the Missouri and Texas territory. Why, then, should the condition of the working population of Britain not be as favourable as that of America? Simply because the field of labour, from our narrow home territory, dense population, and restrictive trade system, is more limited in proportion to the labour supply, and that we fail to profit by our opportunities of extending it. A sufficient emigration would render it equally, if not more favourable. Let the *truly* charitable—those who have the welfare of their suffering countrymen really at heart, reflect that ignorance is criminal, where knowledge is within their reach. Let them hasten to devote their exertions and wealth to purposes of utility, and not waste them in increasing the very evils they wish to remedy. *Let them promote colonization.*

With an overflowing capital, and a population, notwithstanding our emigration, increasing at present nearly 400,000 annually, and as things are regulated beyond the means of full subsistence and labour-demand, Britain is placed under circumstances more favourable than ever occurred at any former period for carrying the principle of colonization into effect to its fullest, most salutary extent. The importance of emigration, as before stated, is proved by the immense and most advantageous trade we now carry on with the countries we have colonized; an almost unlimited extent of unoccupied territory is at our command; a very extensive emigration is neces-



sary to render a poor-law practicable in Ireland, and to assist the working of the new poor-law in England (a sufficient emigration would soon render both unnecessary); the beautiful, I would almost say designed, adaptation of the sale of colonial new lands, partly producing funds to carry out working emigrants is now discovered; the economy of transporting great numbers to distant countries in health and safety is nearly perfected:—all these conspire in an almost miraculous manner to place the destinies of man at the disposal of Britain, and to render the present era the most eventful in the history of the world, —*the era of colonization.*

Even although 450,000 (the present total yearly increase, including the present emigration, nearly 100,000) were exported annually, the future increase, from the improved condition of the great body of the people, would extend perhaps to double this number, say 1,000,000 annually, and that of our capital in a corresponding ratio; while at the same time the demand for manufactured produce, caused by the wants of the exported portion of our people, would greatly improve the home labour-demand, even with this great increase of hands. Thus our numbers would go on increasing faster at home than at present, while at the same time the country would increase in power, in a ratio still more rapid from the greater prosperity of all.

It is only within a few years that the immense importance of colonization has come to be appreciated; recently the most unfavourable prejudices existed respecting it, and the most erroneous and absurd doctrines were promulgated, to feed the popular odium,



by political economists ; who, in their wisdom, could never solve the difficulty how Britain continued the richest nation of the world, while her resources were being wasted upon numberless useless colonies. Let us contemplate the difference of results which the resources of Britain would have accomplished had they been so *wasted*,—had they been devoted to purposes of *creation* as they were to purposes of *destruction* during the American and French revolutionary wars. We did not then hesitate to lavish hundreds of millions in engaging in deadly feud the European and American nations. It seems hitherto to have been the principle of Government to hold any expense incurred for purposes other than rapine or destruction as a misapplication of the national resources. A change is at hand. The reign of Queen Victoria promises to be glorious for a victory over barbarism and human misery—Colonization is the means.

A tax of ten per cent. in Britain and Ireland upon land rental would be most profitably employed in carrying out labouring emigrants, and in locating them comfortably. This would be a humane and rational amendment of the English poor law, and the best poor-law for Ireland that could be introduced. This fund, together with the proceeds of the sales of colonial lands, under judicious and economical management, would in the course of a few years have a most beneficial effect upon trade, and greatly ameliorate the condition of the working population : continued for half a century it would change the face of things over a great portion of the habitable world ; and the extent of its effects, persisted in for several centuries, would be beyond



even what we now can contemplate. The vast increase of the value of land-property in Britain, which scarcely suffered a nominal reduction, by the doubling of the value of money by Peel's bill, is caused by the food monopoly. Were the corn-laws entirely abolished, rental would not exceed one-half what it now is, excepting for property in the vicinity of towns. And granting what the self-interested assert—that a tax upon foreign grain is necessary to prevent Britain from being at the mercy of foreign nations for food,—that it is better to be kept constantly at the starvation point, than to have foreign supplies, although our fabrics are lying without purchasers, our working men idle, and the grain in the Prussian warehouses consuming by weevils,—that it is more likely an equable supply will be derived from the home-country alone, than from the home-country, with all the world to assist, a superfluity of crop in one country balancing the deficiency of crop in another;—even granting all this, and the necessity of the food-monopoly, our landholders are clearly indebted to the community in a drawback tax equal to the increase of their rents by the foreign grain-tax, especially as they, like the other property holders, are much less taxed in proportion to income than the working population. The adoption of this tax of ten per cent. on land-rental cannot therefore meet with any reasonable opposition from them. Even in the event of the attainment of free trade, it would be but a very small return of what they are indebted to the community for the increased rents they have unjustly been receiving in past years.



## CHAPTER II.

CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH MODIFY TEMPERATURE, AND  
CLASSIFICATION OF EMIGRANTS.

Having demonstrated the extreme importance of Colonies to the progressive prosperity of the Empire, and the necessity of extensive emigration to the well-being of the labouring population ; that the wages of labour, the returns from capital, the mercantile marine, in short, all the elements of national happiness and greatness, would be greatly increased, I shall now take an excursive glance at the different most inviting fields, where colonization is practicable, endeavouring to point out the advantages or disadvantages which these present to intending emigrants.

Before entering on this, however, I shall make a few remarks on climate, temperature, and the circumstances by which they are modified. A correct knowledge of these is necessary to a comprehensive acquaintance with the economy of colonization, and to assist the intending emigrant in making choice of a future home, and it will save future digression. A few remarks will also be necessary on the classification of emigrants.



*Circumstances which modify Temperature.*

1st, *Altitude*.—Every one knows that the temperature diminishes as we ascend above the level of the sea. At the Equator, the line of perpetual snow is nearly three miles above the sea-level, and in Britain nearly one mile. The decrease of temperature may be taken roughly at about 300 feet of altitude for one degree (Fahrenheit) of temperature, or one degree of latitude. This decrease, however, is very unequal at different places. High table-lands are much warmer than high mountain peaks, rising from a low level: this is caused by the sun's rays heating only opaque bodies,—the surface of the earth, and not the transparent air. Exemplifying this, we find the line of perpetual snow on the north side of the Himmaleh mountains (contrary to what we might expect from the exposure) is much higher than on the south side: this is owing to the very high level of the surface of the country to the north of these mountains, and the comparatively low level of the south.

The temperate zones, to pole-ward of  $30^{\circ}$  of latitude, where malaria does not abound, are favourable to the European or Caucasian race. Within the tropics, and to the distance of  $30^{\circ}$  from the Equator, it is necessary to ascend from two to eight thousand feet to obtain a temperature fitted to that race. At a high altitude, in low latitudes, we have a nearly constant equality of mild temperature,—a perpetual spring, which might be considered exceedingly favourable to animal and vegetable life. But another circumstance powerfully affecting the economy of



animal and vegetable life, comes into action, at least when we exceed six or eight thousand feet. The air, at these high altitudes, from the absence of pressure, is much rarer than at the level of the sea,—so rare, as to be much less fitted to excite and sustain the energy of the vital functions; the lungs seem too unsubstantially inflated to supply a sufficiently aërated or assimilated blood; the working of the pulsatory mechanism of the heart is also defective,—any kind of muscular exertion, especially the climbing of an eminence, causing the heart to palpitate to a painful degree. There is, however, an adaptive power in nature, which gradually accommodates the living mechanism to a change of circumstances, and the lungs of those who have sojourned at these altitudes for a number of years become, in some degree, accommodated to their unsubstantial fare; and this adaptation is increased, when the individual has been born in the locality, and still more, when his progenitors have been so. Neither animals nor plants, however, attain the same vigour, size, and weight that they do at lower levels. The human system is also liable to diseases not known, or very rare, at lower levels; and, upon the whole, excepting in the case of a few species, which seem formed peculiarly for high elevation, the condition of life is inferior, and life itself of shorter duration.

Between the 30th and 40th parallel of latitude, mountains and table-land, of from two to four thousand feet in altitude, are sufficiently favourable to animal and vegetable life, and especially to the White European race of men, who, on hills, at these altitudes,



from the moist and bracing atmosphere, and general absence of putrescent malaria, attain a ruddy and bright complexion, and do not yield to those at the sea-level, in strength, hardihood, or longevity. As we advance from the 40th parallel to the polar circles, the altitudes favourable to life gradually diminish till about the 60th parallel, when only the lands immediately above the sea-level are habitable.

2d, Prevalence of land or water in the vicinity, or in the same quarter of the world; land causing extremes of temperature; water, especially deep water, equalizing it, excepting when frozen.

3d, *Trade winds, or prevailing ærial currents.*—These blow on the north temperate zone, from west and south-west; and on the south temperate zone, from the west and north-west. Within the Tropics, and in summer, for about 10 degrees of latitude beyond them, the trade-winds blow, on the north of the Line from the east and north-east; and on the south of the Line from the east and south-east. These winds generally blow from eight to ten months of the year. Winds, or the motion of the air, by mixing different strata, tend generally to equalize temperature, especially that of day and night; by giving out heat to the surface of the earth, as they brush along, they prevent it from cooling very low in the night from radiation, and thus producing hoar-frost, and by taking in heat during the day, prevent it from becoming much heated by the sun's rays.

4th, Winds that come over an extent of sea, if that sea is not frozen, invariably equalize the temperature of the country to which they blow.

5th, Winds that come over an extent of land in



winter, when the surface of the country is covered with snow, cooled to a very low temperature, are exceedingly keen, and frequently destructive of animal life. They are also destructive of the vegetables which are above ground in winter, when not protected by snow, such as wheat, rye, rape, turnips. Britain, from its insular position, is but little affected by these winds; but the North of Europe, and Asia and North America, north of  $35^{\circ}$  of latitude, suffer extremely.

6th, Winds that blow over an extent of land in summer, when the surface of the land is dry and heated, raise temperature. These winds, when coming from an extent of sandy desert, or parched country, are frequently warmer than the natural temperature of the human body, rising to  $100^{\circ}$  and upward of Fahrenheit. They become then extremely distressing to the human feelings; every species of vegetation shrivels up and disappears under their blasting influence, while all descriptions of timber frame-work and machinery crack and twist, and go to pieces. The sirocco of the Levant, and the north-wester of New South Wales, are instances of this. The blasting mortal effect of the simoom of the desert, the most pernicious of all, seems owing to some electric agency.

7th, In the north temperate zone, an extent of water to the northward of any country, and in the south temperate zone to the southward, has a powerful influence in softening the rigour of winter. One of the chief causes of cold in the temperate zones in winter, is the continuance of winds from the frigid zones, below the freezing point. When



water not frozen exists towards the pole, wind or moving air from that direction, by its contact and friction with the waves, as it sweeps along, receives heat from the water, and is generally raised in temperature above the freezing point ; and countries thus situated, as to the sea, are freed from one great cause of a very low depression of temperature, being only subject to be cooled by throwing off heat by radiation, by the electric meteoric agency in generating cold, or by evaporation. Countries thus situated with sea towards the pole, are also less subject to rains, and consequently have less evaporation, than if they had sea in any other direction. It is generally winds from the sea which cause rain to fall ; but air coming over sea, from the direction of the pole, upon reaching the land, gains a warmer locality, unless in case of high mountains overbalancing the effect of diminished latitude ; and although this air were fully charged with moisture, at what is termed the dew-point, instead of depositing this moisture, it acquires by increase of temperature greater power of suspension. On the contrary, when sea lies in any other direction, especially towards the equator, the warm air, whose power of suspending moisture is great, and which, by moving along the watery surface, has been fully charged with moisture (at the dew-point), when it reaches land cooler than itself, necessarily deposits a part of its moisture. This is greatly increased when the locality is of high elevation,—when it partakes both of the coolness of higher altitude and higher latitude. Exemplifying this, we find the country southward of the Canadian Lakes has a winter nearly a month shorter than the



same parallel of latitude in America, a little to the east or west, where land extends to the northward. Morayshire, and East Lothian, in Scotland, are both placed under circumstances nearly similar, and are considerably earlier in vernal vegetation, and in harvesting their crops, than any other part of Scotland, or North of England; the harvest in Morayshire being generally as early as in England in the parallel of Liverpool. In both places (Morayshire and East Lothian), a dry sandy soil, and comparatively dry climate, from no high land being in the immediate vicinity, assist in increasing the temperature. The great quantity of rain which falls on the west mountain-shores of Great Britain, Ireland, and Norway, where a warm sea-wind from the southwest, partaking of the heat of the Gulf-stream, and surcharged with moisture, reaches a cooler locality, is also an instance in point.

8th, Deep-sea has comparatively higher temperature and clear weather; shallow-sea, lower temperature and foggy weather. The fogs, and chilly atmosphere of the lower part of the German Sea, and of the Banks of Newfoundland, exemplify the latter.

### *Classification of Emigrants.*

Emigrants are divisible into two classes, 1st, Those who intend to return, after having amassed a sufficiency of wealth. 2d, Permanent settlers.

The first class, for the most part, emigrate to tropical countries, uncongenial to British constitutions, and unfitted for their permanent residence,—



the conquered provinces of the East, and the colonies of the West Indies, where they are chiefly employed in civil or military situations, in the provincial or colonial government, and as superintendants of native industry. This class consists, for the most part, of the younger sons of our aristocracy, and the youth of the middle ranks, accustomed or desirous to occupy a certain grade in society, for which they lack the means. In most cases the individuals of this class have rich or influential connections, with whom they are unable to associate, though very emulous of doing so; and they voluntarily go, or are sent by their parents, into temporary banishment, risking exposure to the most pestilential tropical climates, in the hope that they may accumulate wealth, and return to their proud connections in a condition to command their friendship and attentions.

Nothing is more remarkable, than the heartlessness with which British, especially Scotch parents, devote their children to the very probable loss of life, or if surviving, to the almost certain loss of health, in order that these may not lose caste, and lower the family rank by comparative poverty, or disgrace it by application to some of the branches of useful industry. This disposition to banish, or drive away their offspring, seems in some cases instinctive and akin to what we observe in certain classes of the brutes, occurring frequently where the wealth of the parent is so great, as to be far more than amply sufficient to provide for the supply of their children during life, with all the most desirable comforts. In this way our tropical provinces and colonies may be regarded as standing in a simi-



lar relation to our Protestant community, and performing the same general economical functions, as monasteries and nunneries do in Catholic countries, in affording a very decent sort of apparatus for destroying the younger branches of our aristocracy, and thus obviating the necessity of diverting any portion of the family fortune away from the eldest son.

It is not my intention to enter into any consideration of the comparative unhealthiness of the fields for emigrants of this class,—Madras, Bengal, Bombay, the Mauritius, Jamaica, Demerara, Sierra-Leone; any of these is sufficiently well fitted for the purpose of destruction. I may merely mention, that the yellow and livid fever demon of the American and African tropics, disposes of his prey with shark-like celerity; while the liver-gnawing, demon-vulture of the East continues to feed upon the vitals of his victims, with protracted epicurism, as if the lingering Promethean anguish gave relish to the repast. I only allude to this species of emigration, to point out to parents and unthinking youth how infinitely more desirable and wise it were to emigrate permanently to temperate healthy climates. The fatality of tropical climates, notwithstanding of every-day proof, is not sufficiently estimated, especially as regards the fair-haired race of German or Scandinavian origin, a race the worst suited of all to tropical regions. The comparative mortality of our different foreign military stations, as given in the *United Service Journal* for (I think) the last quarter of year 1835; and the loss by climate, in some of the tropical stations, is stated to exceed the loss in stations in the



temperate zone, in the ratio of twelve to one, not taking into account the numerous instances where the sufferers come home in broken health, to die in Britain. The writer himself has lost eleven cousins, besides other relatives, fine stout young men, all cut off prematurely in tropical climates, and not one of his relatives who have gone to these climates now survives. This mortality, under tropical exposure, is not from any peculiarity of family constitution. One of these relatives, the owner of a trading vessel, took out a complement of sixteen men to a tropical island, of which fourteen died while he was procuring a cargo, though he himself survived at that time.

In cases where the white race have migrated to tropical climates, and settled permanently, it is found, that though they may survive so long as to leave offspring, that unless one of the parents is of the native circumstance-suited race, the offspring is of a degenerate character, so feeble in mind and body, as to be incapable of sustaining "the shocks which flesh is heir to," or of keeping their ground against the native race. This is exemplified in the continent of tropical America, and in the West Indies. It is even said, that in Egypt, the Mameluke corps of Grecian, Georgian, or Circassian birth, never left grandchildren,—that although they left offspring, that this offspring never reproduced. The children of white parents, in these hot regions, are of extreme nervous delicacy; any sudden noise, such as a clap of thunder,\* frequently causing con-

\* The presence, or flow of electric fluid, seems to have an effect upon the nervous system, even although in so minute di-



vulsions and instant death. It is very common to find white mothers, who have had their families in the East or West Indies, with only one or two surviving children, out of six or eight births. Even at the Cape settlements, although considerably extra-tropical, so very precarious is the life of infants of the white race, in the hotter seasons of the year, that mothers never count upon children as being their own, till they are at least a month old.

Taking into view these facts, which shew the extreme unsuitableness of tropical countries, as emigration-fields, to the white race of man, whether the individual is to remain for a limited period, or permanently; taking also into account, that the temporary emigrant is generally without family ties,

vision as not to be otherwise perceptible; and the causes of infant death in tropical countries attributed to the thunder-clap, may be caused directly by electric action, deranging the nervous organization, or stopping the galvanic circulation of life. During earthquakes there appears to be considerable evolution of electric fluid, which has been thought to affect the nervous system in a manner somewhat analogous. About thirty years ago, when a rather severe earthquake shock was felt in the North of Scotland, a number of persons, chiefly children, were struck paralytic or lame, during the shock. The writer found two instances at Grantown, in Inverness-shire, of lameness attributed to this earthquake. In one of these, where the person had become a schoolmaster, both feet were affected; he was an infant, so young at the time of the earthquake, when he sustained the injury, that it was impossible it could have been caused by terror, nor did the parts, at the time, show any discoloration or bruised appearances. The medical practitioner at the place stated, that he had traced lameness in eleven or twelve individuals to some unknown influence, or effect of this earthquake,—that the lameness in these was immediately consecutive to the earthquake, but that no appearances of electric fluid had been noticed.



that he has the strongest possible motive for procuring wealth rapidly, that he has considerable power over a dependent, recently conquered, or slave population, which he is apt to consider an inferior race; and should he be inclined, from acquisitiveness, to overstep all moral bounds, that he may do so with almost certain impunity, his conduct, whatever that may be, not easily admitting of being brought to light; that he is placed under circumstances the most adverse to good principle, and unless of great natural benevolence, must become callous to human sympathy, and tyrannically selfish;—taking into consideration how life and morals are thus perilled, and that even should the individual survive, that health is irremediably lost,—what epithet would be too harsh to describe the guilt of the parent, who, aware of all this, will sacrifice his offspring to pride and mammon.

Having endeavoured to point out how tropical emigration appears to a plain observer, and leaving the eulogistic description of tropical-emigration fields to the knights of the preventive and destructive check, I shall now proceed with a sketch of temperate zone emigration-fields.



## CHAPTER III.

## NORTH AMERICA.

This grand division of the earth extends from considerably within the Arctic Circle, to the middle of the North Torrid Zone, and consequently possesses a great diversity of climate. Being as yet very thinly peopled in proportion to its natural resources and capabilities of supporting population, the whole may be said to constitute an emigration-field. The habitable part of North America is divisible into the following sections. (As this work is a mere sketch, to endeavour to draw the attention of the country to emigration, a particular account of each artificial division or State is not attempted.)

1st, Lower Canada, including Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, St John's, and Newfoundland. These countries may be named the Maritime Provinces of the St Lawrence.

2d, Upper Canada, or Country of the Lakes.

3d, The New England States, including the Highlands of the Alleghany chain, as far as the Floridas.

4th, The low flat Atlantic Belt, once the ocean-bed, eastward of the Alleghany range, extending from the Chesapeake south to the Gulf of Florida.

5th, The vast inland Basin of the Mississippi.



6th, The Mexican territory.

7th, The Western territory and Rocky Mountains.

## I.

### *The Maritime Provinces of the St Lawrence.*

These extensive maritime regions being situated on the east side of a great continent, in the temperate zone, with the most prevalent winds blowing from the west and north, over land, have what has been termed an *extreme* climate, the temperature varying from 40 degrees below zero, to 90° and 100° above. Although in the same latitude with the most temperate parts of Europe, the winter is long, and the cold intense, with much snow (a consequence of the great intermixture of sea and land); and when the wind blows strong from the north and west, over thousands of leagues of an intensely cold snow surface, exposure to the breath of Boreas is insupportable. The spring and autumn, especially in the more eastern parts, are also boisterous and variable, with snow, sleet, and rain. The short summer is, however, warm and genial, more particularly in the island St John and the southwest portion of these provinces, and is sufficient to ripen oats, barley, potatoes, excellent apples and pears, with a little spring-sown wheat, (autumn-sown wheat generally rotting or dying under the snow, from the very long period, sometimes six months, which the snow remains on the ground.) In the eastern and northern portion, Nova Scotia



and Newfoundland, the climate is exceedingly ungenial and rough, and but for the vicinity of the fisheries (the most productive in the world) would be considered uninhabitable. The prodigious quantity of floating ice which drifts down from Davis's and Hudson's Straits, and, which grounds upon the banks and shallows on the eastern shores, neutralizes the sun's heat during the first half of summer, and, combined with the shallow seas, produces very frequent fogs, sleet, and drizzly rain, which sometimes chills the season so much, as to ruin the prospects of the grain-farmer. These regions are as yet only very thinly peopled, chiefly along the river courses, upon the alluvial lands, and in the vicinity of the frequented harbours. The clearances have generally the most uncouth appearance, around which the bare unsightly stems of the broken forest stand mangled and torn, and scathed by fire, giving a character of destructive rudeness to the doings of man. Nearly the whole of these wide provinces are covered by forest; the most valuable timber of which is yellow, white, and red pine, black birch, elm, oak, and maple. Almost the sole export is timber, under different forms, and potash (the soluble portion of timber-ashes), to Britain and the West Indies, which admits of a return of clothing, hardware, iron utensils, rum, tea, and coffee. Ship-building, and the cutting and preparing of timber for export, and the manufacture of barrel-staves, hoops, and potash, are, with the fisheries, agriculture, and a little mining, the sole employments.

The province of Lower Canada, or New France, chiefly occupied by a population of French descent,



and speaking the French language, enjoys a better climate than the more eastern provinces. It is also comparatively an old settled country, having considerable marks of the presence of man,—villages, and churches, and orchards, and numerous clearances, interspersed with forest. The seignorial or feudal nature of the holding of property in this province, and the influence of the Roman Catholic priesthood, has stamped the population with a character different from that of the American British. Society is here more linked together, customs more permanent, improvement slow, and the *habitans* being more affected by local impressions, and deriving more of their enjoyments from social intercourse, to which they are considerably disposed from habit of race and from a deficiency of individual mental resource, have not, excepting when ingrafted upon an Indian stock, the disposition to part from their friends, and scatter, so characteristic of those of the British race. They are, however, but very indolent husbandmen, and are, notwithstanding of all their indisposition to change, not unfrequently beaten from their old clearances, and compelled to cut out new ones, by their inveterate enemy, the weeds, especially the Canadian thistle, which appears to be possessed of considerably more constitutional energy than the *habitans*. The latter, however, of their own contrivance, or more probably directed by their politic priesthood, turn their starved stock, for a few summers, upon the victorious intruders, and thus, by means of these more active auxiliaries, make out eventually to recover the lost territory and to resume cultivation. With few wants, and not very



numerous families, the *habitans* circumscribe their industrial and mental exertions to as limited a field as possible, and make out to lead comparatively quiet and happy lives.

While the greater portion of the population of Lower Canada is of French descent, speaking that language, those in New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, are mostly British. This division of races and language, is a barrier to the formation of any considerable independent national power in these provinces, and renders their ultimate union with the United States much more probable. In speculating on the future prospects of these regions, we cannot see much chance of their ever becoming highly peopled and civilized. The climate, which no drainage or clearing can ever render congenial to man, or favourable to production of grain, or the rearing of flocks and herds, will remain an insuperable barrier. The opening of a communication between the Lakes of Upper Canada, and the Hudson and Mississippi rivers, by means of canals and railways, will also divert the commerce of the interior from the Lower St Lawrence, the navigation of which must always labour under the great disadvantage of being hermetically sealed by ice for six months of the year. The timber-trade will, however, continue, while the forests exist. It may, indeed, in the first place, experience a considerable diminution, when the anticipated removal of duties takes place; but as the Baltic supply, already much exhausted, will under the then greatly increased demand rapidly fall off, recourse must again be had to the inferior and more distant supply of these pro-



vinces. The decrease of timber in the United States, already beginning to be felt, will also soon compel them to resort to the Lower St Lawrence provinces, and the demand of the West Indies, and of South America, will continue. Yet, in the course of time, the timber supply furnished by these regions, will come to be reduced to the annual growth; and it is on the fisheries chiefly, that the trade and industry must ultimately depend.

The cutting and squaring of the timber in the interior forests during the autumn and winter, the dragging it to the water-courses, and the floating it down the rivers on the dissolving of the snow, is an extremely rough and exposed mode of life. Men without female society, away from their homes, roaming from place to place, and engaged in employments, where the severity of the labour, privations, and exposure to cold and wet are almost irresistible inducements to the use of spirituous liquors, become necessarily coarse in manners, and of reckless licentious character. These unfortunate circumstances, in conjunction with the resort of great numbers of foreign sailors in the timber-trade, have a powerful effect in lowering the standard of morals generally throughout these settlements, and are a considerable barrier to steady industry, improvement, and population. And the monopoly of the timber-trade of Great Britain, which these provinces possess (timber imported from thence paying only 10s. per load, while Baltic timber pays about five times as much), although the cause of nearly one-half of their commerce, may indirectly, by the corruption of manners which it occasions, retard the population,



wealth, and general prosperity, more than it promotes it directly by the unnatural increase of commerce.

Emigrants of robust constitutions, and rude habits, may find the maritime provinces of the St Lawrence a desirable land. They have the recommendation of being nearer to Britain, and more easily reached than any other emigration field, and at less expense, as the timber-vessels frequently go out in ballast, and transport on the cheapest terms. They have the further advantage of not being so subject to fever, and ague, and dyspepsia, as Upper Canada, and the greater portion of the United States. Rheumatism and consumption, however, prevail, and the severity of the winter renders the rearing of children a task of some difficulty.

## II.

### *The Country of the Lakes, Upper Canada.*

This great interior country, extending south-west from Lower Canada, along the north side of the great American lakes, is chiefly a flat or slightly undulated continuous forest, only diversified by the lake and the river, and the small rude clearance of the settler. Nothing can exceed the sensation of loneliness (*lone* as the Americans term it) which is experienced in these interminable forests, where, for hundreds of miles, no object is recognisable beyond the tops of the trees. To a Scotsman, the view of hills is awanting; to the Englishman, the cleanly smiling villages, and the neat enclosures, with the



beautiful sheep and cattle. The ocean is also awanting, so interesting to the Briton, as giving him some assurance of his locality, and carrying with it the idea of home—that he is not lost in flat dull illimitable space.

This dreariness, combined with some climatic influence, has a marked effect upon the spirits and character of the settler, who is as silent and sombre as the gloomy woods among which he is lost,—nothing seeming to be alive, and in a state of active noisy enjoyment in these interminable swampy forests, but the myriads of frogs.

The country of the Lakes has a shorter winter, and a climate much superior to that of the maritime provinces; yet the heat of summer and the cold of winter are intense, and the great and sudden transition enfeebles the constitution of those who have sojourned for a number of years in the country; so much so, that in winter they require thicker clothing than people who have recently come from Britain: Exposure to the intense summer heat for three seasons, however, has generally the effect of rendering strangers equally susceptible to the winter cold as those born in the country. The malignant effects of marsh miasms are more or less felt over the whole country, and in the immediate vicinity of the lakes, especially when the water recedes a little in the after part of summer, and the weather is hot, the lake-fever or bilious remittent is very prevalent and fatal. Intermittents are also prevalent over the whole country, to such a degree as to render human life miserable. The banks of all the rivers which run into the lakes are peculiarly liable, the Americans declaring that these rivers, towards



the end of summer, are green with the *ague seeds* ; while the universal paleness of the countenance indicates the prevalence of bilious affections, and the derangement of the digestive functions. In the maritime provinces a florid complexion is not uncommon, partly from the superior tone of the digestive organs, partly from the moister atmosphere.

The great disadvantage of the country of the Lakes, is that it wants some staple article of export. Its timber is too distant from market to be worth transporting. The climate is not very favourable to fine woolled sheep or sheep of any kind ; besides, they would require a great extent of clearance, not a pile of grass growing in the dense hard-wood forest, where only pigs can pick up a little food, consisting of reptiles, nuts, and tree-seeds. Cattle require too much hoarded winter forage, and are far from markets, the nearest of which are Montreal, Albany, and New York. Grain is also too distant from market to be profitably raised for export ; and, in fact, it, as well as cattle, is imported to very considerable extent. There is thus almost no means of export to balance necessary imports of clothing, hardware, &c., and the portion they receive has hitherto been purchased by the hard cash which emigrants have carried out, by the pensions of half-pay officers (a number of whom have settled in the country), and by the money expended by the Government derived from Britain. Being entirely destitute of exports, the imports of even the few supplies which people of such inadequate means find necessary, speedily exhausts the little hoarded money which settlers carry out with them, and except when they can exchange a few



cattle or some seed-grain with a new comer for his hard dollars, they are under the necessity to content themselves with the rude fabrics which their own hands can manufacture, and with the simple food which their clearance can supply.

The late disturbances have tended much to aggravate the misery ; emigration and the foreign supply of dollars has ceased, property has been destroyed, the price of foreign supplies has been increased, the security of property has been lessened, industry has been checked, and even though these disturbances have been put down for the present, an anticipation of future mischief continues to prevail. The consequences of this are becoming apparent on the most exposed frontier. Towns which had recently a population of 1500 are now (it is said) reduced to 300, and people are emigrating in great numbers to the valley of the Mississippi, and some returning to Britain. Another disastrous event, of considerable importance, has more recently attracted public attention. A great part of the shores of these lakes are only a few feet above the level of the waters : a periodic rise and fall of all these lakes above Niagara of a foot or two every few years had been previously noticed, perhaps caused by the common succession of several wet and several dry years ; but during this summer (1838) a rise to the amount of 4 feet has taken place, overflowing a considerable portion of the adjacent very low shores, and inundating the houses and fields of the settlers. This rise of the lakes at the present time is attributed to the damming up, by drift-wood, of the channel of a large river which used to discharge its waters into Hud-



son's Bay, and the waters now flowing southward into Lake Superior.

Such is the extreme flatness of this vast interior lake country, chiefly a limestone platform of about 500 feet of elevation above the sea, and extending several hundred thousand square leagues, that the rise of a few feet at Niagara would double the extent of the lakes, and give several outlets, one discharging into the Gulf of Mexico, another into the St Lawrence, and another into Hudson's Bay.

Perhaps there is no inhabited country where the settler, or even the settled, have greater natural difficulties to contend with than in Upper Canada, and the Maritime Provinces of the St Lawrence. These countries have an *arctic* winter of six or seven months, and a *tropical* summer of four months, with a short autumn and no spring. From the depth of snow no agricultural work can be begun till nearly the end of May, and as there is no mild season of spring, but the intense heat of summer immediately supervening on the dissolving of the snow, and as there is little autumn-sown wheat, nearly the whole of the ploughing, sowing, and planting, has to be performed under a temperature equal to that of the West Indies (the mercury frequently rising to 90° in the shade), while the constitution receives a most injurious shock from the sudden change from the intense cold of winter—the more that the severe toil is reserved to the very hot season. Within the five or six months of summer and autumn the whole agricultural labour must be performed—ploughing, sowing, hay-making, harvesting, and the securing of all winter provender for man and beast. These irre-



mediable evils are the more felt, as in a new country the support of man is chiefly derived from domestic animals. Besides turnips and other roots, from the severity of the frost, are not used, and six months hay must be laid up during the hottest season, for all the stock, causing extreme toil to the farmer, as little or no assistance can be obtained, from the thinness of the population,—the class of artisans and manufacturers who generally assist at the harvest in other countries being wanting in this. The climate is equally unfavourable, in respect to the greater quantity of clothing, of fuel, and of housing for cattle as well as for man, which is required.

In the Canadas, it is said, there is scarcely a cattle beast deserving the name, the produce of the country, to be found ; any of even moderate quality to be seen in it being importations from the United States. This may be easily accredited when we reflect, that their winter of six or seven months is merely a lengthened contest between life and death for the poor animal, and that should it survive when winter has left, the creature is reduced to a mere skeleton, requiring all the summer and autumn to repair the extreme emaciation. The great alternations of climate in the Canadas, with the necessary severe toil under a temperature unsuited to those of British race, even where the prevailing fever and ague do not ruin the health, has the effect to induce premature old age. The author had a friend in Canada, a military man, but bred in his youth to agriculture, who, at the end of the war, had the choice of a considerable grant of land should he incline to remain in the country. He, however, left it, and he gave as his rea-



son that he did not see a settler in the province older than himself (about forty), and that he therefore considered it high time to depart.

These regions have the credit of being the most slovenly cultivated of any part of the world, and are, in every respect, very far behind the neighbouring provinces of the United States. The cause of this is the indolence of the people of French extraction, a consequence of their subjection to a Roman Catholic priesthood and perhaps their seignorial holdings, and that the new settlers (principally British) are a very mixed assortment of adventurers, many of them, from unsuitable habits and a deficiency of necessary knowledge and means, extremely ill calculated for subduing the wilderness. These consist of old military men, coloured people from the United States, flying from the degradation which tyrannic custom attaches to their colour in that country, and of Scots, Irish, and English, of all grades and characters; while the colonists in the neighbouring territory of the States are settlers bred from their infancy, the sons of settlers, endowed with the collected skill of ages, habitually, almost instinctively adapted to this mode of life. From the very imperfect cultivation throughout British America, and in many places from an injudicious selection of soil, the crops that are reaped scarcely remunerate for seed and labour, and after a few seasons' cropping, the weeds spring up so thickly (although at the commencement the ground was perfectly clean) as to take complete occupation of the soil, and the farmer finds it easier to displace the great weeds of the untouched forest than the small weeds of the clearance.



The soil of Upper Canada is in many places of fair quality, and generally superior to that of the eastern provinces. The timber consists mostly of large-leaved deciduous trees, while that of the eastern provinces is chiefly pine. This distribution is partly owing to soil as well as climate, and has led to the belief that pines prefer inferior soil. This, however, is not the case. Hard-wood trees have only *greater powers of occupancy* in warmer climates and richer soils, and pines in the colder and inferior, especially in the more siliceous.

The prospects of Upper Canada are at present sufficiently gloomy, with little chance of brightening while it remains in British hands. It is spread out extensively along the frontier of a richer and more densely peopled country with a more popular government, and it is open at every point to inroads across the boundary river, and lakes, on which the United States' navy will, in case of new hostilities, as during last war, maintain a supremacy. In case of war the whole combined force of that great and rapidly increasing empire, by means of the new facilities of communication by railroads and canals *via* the Hudson and Mississippi lines, can be thrown upon any point of Upper Canada, without waste or exhaustion by long marches, and the necessary supplies easily kept up; while the counter force and supplies must be brought from another quarter of the world, across a line of sea open only six months of the year, and over a line of country incapable of affording supplies of almost any description, and this country, through which every thing must pass, in a highly disaffected state—ready, should a good opportunity offer, to



join the enemy. While this state of things lasts, from the insecurity of property there is little chance of progressive prosperity. Canada, so situated, does not afford a very tempting emigration field.

### III.

*The New England States, and Highlands of the regions between these States and the Gulf of Florida.*

This division of the United States is the only portion of North America east of the Rocky Mountains which can be accounted wholesome, and at the same time comparatively temperate and pleasant, and well suited to the British race. It may be subdivided into two portions, the north and the south. The first, the New England States, and the New York and Pennsylvanian Highlands. The second, the Highlands of the Southern States—the Alleghany and Cumberland Ranges, including the connected spurs and elevations.

The North Portion, *The New England States and Highlands of New York and Pennsylvania*, has been colonized by the British race for a period of nearly 200 years, and is comparatively an old settled country, throwing off a vast emigration yearly southward to the fertile Mississippi basin. The population of this northern portion of the Union, keeping away from that of the aguish districts around Lake Champlain and of the westward towards Lake Ontario, are nearly as robust and healthy looking as



the home British ; only the exposed skin is a little more tanned from the higher range of the sun and the brighter skies, and the person not quite so full. From the keen bracing air of winter in this quarter of the Union, and the summer not being so oppressively hot as farther south, it is the best suited of any part of North America for the seat of manufacturing industry. The people of European descent here are at the same time more energetic,—more willing to labour, and able to perform more work than in any other portion of the United States. Although not one-tenth peopled, yet is it not so favourable an emigration field for Britain as the highlands of the south ; at least for those who, from a superior education and a little capital, look forward to some employment more productive or less irksome than common labour. The New Englanders (Yankees proper) are too acute and active a race, and too well informed, for any stranger to carry off the more valuable prizes in their own country : But, as a field for the agricultural labourer, or common artizan, it offers fair prospects, affording sufficient employment at good wages. The great emigration which takes place from the New England States while their own lands and field of industry are far from being fully occupied, is caused by the strong emulation of the *cute* native Yankee to elevate himself above the common labour class ; and this desertion of the labour field leaves it open and favourable to emigrants of this class.

The Atlantic States for several years back have presented the anomaly of a country importing grain to a large amount, with a superior and comparatively



unoccupied field for grain production. This has arisen from the following combination of circumstances:—

*1st*, The great recent increase of population in the Atlantic sea-board cities, New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore—which, by commerce, sea-fishing, and the carrying trade, derive a revenue from every quarter of the world, and require a large and increasing supply of grain provision.

*2d*, The influx of a great amount of foreign capital attracted by the high interest, and lent out or invested on railways, canals, &c. affording employment to a numerous population not engaged in agriculture, and requiring a grain supply.

*3d*, A considerable portion of the labour of the country which used to be employed in raising grain, being turned to the formation of railways, canals, and other purposes,—mere implements for future production, leaving agriculture, for a time, in some measure neglected.

*4th*, The exhaustion of a considerable portion of the lands in the Atlantic States, employed in raising grain, by hard cropping and the want of a sufficient application of manure, and this portion being left to recruit under grass,—the farmers selling off and migrating across the Alleghany to the Mississippi basin.

*5th*, An unusual proportion of the population being diverted from agriculture by having received an education superior to what labouring agriculturists usually possess. They considering themselves, or their parents considering them, more fitted for the learned professions, or mercantile affairs, than agri-



culture, in a country where the land-owner must himself be the land-worker.

These causes tending to diminish the supply of grain for a time, and to increase the demand, combined with two defective crops, have operated to raise prices so high during the last three years as to produce a considerable importation from the Baltic, Lower Germany and Britain (bonded grain). In a few years, however, the facilities of commercial intercourse with the interior parts of the union, where an almost unlimited extent of very rich land is now being opened up by roads, railways, and canals, will place the United States in a condition to be an exporting, instead of an importing, country of grain, and which the present high prices will accelerate. It is, nevertheless, not very probable that any great surplus amount of grain will be raised in a country where the population are freemen, and land so cheap as to be within the reach of every industrious individual, as in the non-slave American States. A servant, or tenant population, is necessary to much surplus grain production. The raising of grain is attended with too much hard labour to be a favourite occupation with independent citizens working their own grounds, and it will be found that the industry of the United States nation will be turned to branches of industry of less arduous bodily exertion in order to procure exportable produce.

The South Portion, *The Highlands of the Southern States and Kentucky*, extending from the Potomac to Alabama, about 600 miles in length, and 200 in breadth, although beautiful and fertile, and the cli-



mate delightful, is not so well adapted for the seat of manufacturing industry, or, indeed, for labour of any kind, by the white race of men, as the northern division; partly from the delicious climate and greater heat producing a disposition to enjoyment rather than to active labour; and partly because of the hateful slave system, throwing a shade of degradation and meanness over the occupation of the working man, and disposing to idleness, ostentation, and profligacy.

Leaving out, however, all adventitious circumstances,—taking no account of the moral blight of slavery, this division is naturally highly favourable for rural life, affording many a sweet valley, which might well lay claim to the name “Val-Paraiso.” It is especially suited for orchards and vineyards, and plantations of the finer and more valuable fruits of the south of Europe, upon the steep slopes and rising grounds, where almost all kinds of trees grow with more luxuriance, and ripen better fruit than on flats. It is also much more propitious for a pastoral life than the northern division, as the winter is of short duration, and the flocks and herds can find a pasturage supply almost at all seasons. These romantic internal regions, remote from water communication, and in many places of difficult access by land, have hitherto been comparatively neglected, partly from the distance from markets and the want of roads, partly from the soil not being quite so rich as the low country, and partly from the greater difficulty of clearing and cultivating the ground where the impediments of declivity and ruggedness of surface are superadded to that of forest. Railways and roads are, however, being formed, which will open up these



fine highland regions to the settler ; and, in the course of less than half a century, every valley of the Alleghany and Cumberland Ranges will smile with rural villages, and water-mills, and gardens, and orchards, and corn fields; and the hilly ridges, cleared of the greater portion of their forest incumbrance, will feed innumerable flocks and herds.

The population of the United States, greedy of wealth, and impatient of steady labour, are much too indifferent in respect to climate and healthful locality. They rush to the Texas and Mississippi alluvions, where less labour will suffice, where wealth is more easily compassed, and where sugar and cotton—articles of lighter carriage in proportion to value, and more marketable than grain or beef—can be raised, but where health and length of days are very precarious ; while, by a little more persevering industry, they might secure a much greater amount of human enjoyment in the mountain valleys they leave behind.

Although much nationality exists among the United States people, yet is there perhaps some want of local attachment, or of kindred and friendly ties, and even a deficiency of enthusiasm for the natural beauties of their fine country. By having been dissevered from their local attachments in the mother country, the race seems to have lost the disposition to be fixtures—to become enamoured of surrounding objects, and fascinated by the delightful remembrances and associations of youth and home. Their disposition to rove seems, at least, the leading passion, and has the effect of driving them westward from the Atlantic States, and even from the beauti-



ful country of Kentucky, leaving a sufficiency of space behind to accommodate the whole British emigration to the United States. The American emigrants are, from habit of race and acclimated constitution, much better suited for pioneers in the western wilderness, than the British emigrants, especially as being less liable to fever and ague. While, on the other hand, the emigrants from Britain, from being accustomed to the division of labour, and the habits of a denser society, are far better suited for the districts which have been for some time partially settled.

Seeing the extreme liability of the British emigrant to fever and ague in the whole of the flat country of the United States and Upper Canada, and the misery that must ensue when the head of an emigrant family is incapacitated, by lingering diseases, for labour, I would impress upon British emigrants to North America the wisdom of choosing one or other of these two more salubrious divisions:—perhaps the working emigrant without capital or much education, to the North division, and the capitalist and more educated to the South—especially to the hills of Virginia and Kentucky.

It is true the slave blight is spread over these delightful regions, but the ingress of British emigrants would have its effects to bring about a change sooner than otherwise might take place. The natural resources of the country are great, the evil is only adventitious, and must soon give way before the force of moral opinion and civilization. This change is the more likely to take place in Kentucky and the highlands of Virginia, as the climate is suitable to white race labour.



In judging of the fitness of a locality for emigration, the appearance of those born in the country, especially those of British race, ought to be particularly attended to ; and the British highland Virginians and Kentuckians are as athletic, tall, and handsome a people as are to be found. The fact that in Kentucky and Tennessee the raising of black people for exportation to the sugar-producing swamps of Louisiana is a highly profitable business, and carried on to considerable extent, although no very favourable index of the standard of morals of the white population, is rather a favourable one of the salubrity. Some may think that the circumstance of salubrity of climate has met with more attention in these pages than it merits, but if they think so, it is from ignorance or inattention to facts. In a vast majority of cases, at least when slave labour is not employed, everything depends upon the personal activity and the power of muscular exertion of the emigrant and his family ; and health and strength come to be of the last importance to happiness and even to existence. In the greater part of the United States, and even of North America, the defect lies more in the climate than in the productive powers of the soil. The United States citizens are sufficiently sensible upon this point, and nothing can be said more likely to give offence than any reflection upon, or expressed doubt of the character of the district they belong to in regard to salubrity. Although it can be proven that every dwelling during the latter part of every summer is an hospital of fever and ague patients, and even that one-half of the population died the previous season, yet any allusion



to the fact is quite enough to afford occasion for a little rifle practice. The rapid increase of the population of the United States is not owing to any salubrity of climate, but to the favourable field for human labour inducing early marriage ; scarcely a woman of twenty-one years of age remaining a spinster unless she is *awful* (very ugly). In certain localities of America, the prevalence of insects, mosquitoes, and sand-flies, come to be an important consideration as well as climate ; in some cases, otherwise desirable settlements have been abandoned after the necessary buildings have been erected and clearances made, from the insufferable annoyance of these diminutive pests.

It is proper, however, to mention that neither of these divisions are free from endemic disease. Consumption is prevalent in the New England States, causing a premature loss of about one-fifth of the population ; and in the south division, although the inhabitants are upon the whole healthy, yet fever has its periodic visitations, generally once in eight or ten years, and will sometimes carry off one-half of the population of a village or district. It must also be kept in view, that the base of the mountain ranges next to the low country, and the low adjacent valleys and ravines, especially when of south exposure and heavy wooded and sheltered by the high grounds from the purifying ventilation, are even more unwholesome, than the low country itself.

Were the dense forests removed from the Alleghany highlands and valleys, the climate would doubtless be greatly improved, as the surface of the earth



would be swept over by the frequent mountain breeze, and no quantity of malaria suffered to accumulate. Some bad effects might still continue to be felt for a few years, from the vast quantity of tree roots decaying under ground, and emitting putrid effluvia. The soil, also, so long shaded by the rank vegetable covering from the direct action of the sun's rays, would, upon being stirred and exposed to it, send forth for a time pernicious exhalations. Thus the production of malaria will, in the first place, be increased by ploughing and digging, though the source will sooner be exhausted.

In situations, however, of a peculiar nature—rich deep vegetable mould or water alluvion, such as are met with in the low country east of the Alleghany and in Louisiana,—in the hot weather, the drier the soil becomes the production of malaria is the more abundant; fluids of the most pestilent quality rising out of the cracks which the drought occasions in the ground. This dry malaria is most abundant and of the most deleterious nature when there is no plentiful cover of vegetables upon the ground (as after the crop is reaped or gathered) to consume it as it rises; which vegetables do as food when they are present. In some parts of the low country of the Carolinas and Virginia, eastward of the mountain division we are treating of, where the soil is of this description, it is almost certain death for a white man to remain during the latter part of summer in the cultivated grounds; his only chance of surviving, should he not migrate to the New England States, or the more adjacent highland district (which nearly the whole white population do during the sickly season), is to



enter the low-country forest where the trees have tall clear stems with room for a ventilating breeze underneath, and reside in a hut till the winter commence. It is even said that should a few trees around the hut be cut and a small garden formed, malaria will be generated, and the occupier seized by a dangerous bilious remittent.

#### IV.

#### *The Atlantic Sea-bord Flats, East of the Alleghany Range.*

This low division of the United States extends in length from the Chesapeak to the Gulf of Florida, about 700 miles, and in breadth, from the sea to the mountain division last treated of, nearly 100 miles. With the exception of a few partial slight elevations, such as that at Savannah, it is almost a dead level along the sea-coast, and appears to have been the bottom of the Atlantic at some former period, when that sea has washed the Alleghany base. The soil consists chiefly of sand, such as the ocean would leave, in some places arid and unfit for cultivation, in others covered to considerable depth by the mud alluvion of rivers, which flow eastward across it from the Alleghany range, and by the debris of a rich vegetation, forming a deep vegetable mould.

Very little of this productive but unwholesome region is suited for the British emigrant; at least it is impossible for that race to subsist by their own labour in these fever-flats. The white population



consists chiefly of what are termed *planters*; proprietors farming their own grounds by the labour of the black slaves. The exportable produce of this division is both great and valuable: it consists chiefly of tobacco, cotton, and rice, far exceeding that of all the other divisions of the United States put together; and it was in a great measure the wealth derived from this produce, obtained by slave-labour, which put the British colonies in a condition to achieve their independence, and to become the great and powerful nation they now are. It is also true, though not a very pleasant truth, that many of the leading spirits in the war of independence, and also in the later patriotic conflicts and struggles for liberty, have been slaveholders, indebted to slave-labour for their means and leisure and proud inflexible character. That which has contributed so much to the creation of the national power will, however, in all probability, lead eventually to its destruction. The tree which has rushed up so fast, and flourished so richly, has sprung from too rank and corrupt a soil, and the cause of its early vigour and luxuriance will also, it is to be feared, prove the cause of its sudden decay.

The black slave population here is so great, and is increasing so rapidly, from superior adaptation of the race to the climate, in comparison to the whites, that the power of the latter over the former would be of very short duration, were it not for the coercive influence of the whites in the other provinces of the Union.\* From the fact that the white race cannot

\* It is one of the evils of confederated and dependent Governments, that they sometimes keep up an extent of tyranny and misery which could never exist but by powerful extraneous



maintain themselves by their own labour, in this low, hot, and unhealthy country,\* while, should the blacks obtain their freedom, very little labour will be performed by them in raising colonial produce as hired servants, as they will preferably purchase small portions of land, on which they can raise all the necessaries of life for themselves with little trouble, we may expect that their manumission will not take place till the last necessity compels it. It is, therefore, highly probable that the manumission may be delayed till insurrection breaks out, from which the most disastrous consequences to the Union may be apprehended.

influence. We have had illustrations of this in our West Indian colonies, where a system of slavery,—extreme tyranny and misery,—has been supported by means of a strong British military force ; a system which the population of Britain never would have endured themselves, nor would the colonial inhabitants have endured it, but for the coercive British power. We find another illustration of the mischievous effects of extraneous power in Ireland, where a condition of things the most galling to the great body of the population, and the most unfavourable to improvement and civilization, has been kept up—a state of things so adverse to human enjoyment, that nothing approaching to it would have been tolerated an hour, or could ever have come to exist, but for the coercive influence of a neighbouring more powerful nation.

\* Agricultural labour, the most healthy occupation in healthy countries, is perhaps the most unhealthy of all occupations in these unwholesome regions. Brought to high perspiration from his exertions under a very hot sun, and in this state, or in the still more susceptible state, after the ensuing chill, exposed to the exhalations from the soil, the field labourer of the white race is almost certain to fall a victim. If the white race can with difficulty maintain existence as masters or superintendents, subsisting by the labour of others, it is not to be expected that they could maintain existence if obliged to labour for their own subsistence.



In the mean time, however, the consciousness of this enemy within his walls, has a powerful influence to repress the warlike propensities of Brother Jonathan. He is well aware what the consequences might be were a liberating army, with a few hundred thousand stand of spare arms, to form a rallying point in this division of the Union. Now that the British West Indian black population are invested with all the rights of British freemen, the formation of a native West Indian army might be a consideration well worthy the attention of our Government. A black force, consisting of several thousand picked men, should be embodied, have their moral sense and intellect properly educated, be trained to military tactics, and thus prepared, in case of emergency, to act as disciplinarians and leaders of the people of their colour in the United States. This measure is the more expedient as having a double philanthropic tendency. It would have a considerable influence in maintaining our present friendly relations with our American white brothers (with whom, in order that liberty and human improvement may continue to progress, it is exceedingly desirable that friendly relations should exist), and might also have the effect of bringing speedily about a judicious act of Congress manumitting several millions of our American black brethren. It is pretty certain that ere long the whole of this eastern low region will be possessed by a free black population, and the sooner this takes place the better. The black population existing in the neighbouring mountain region to the west, after being manumitted, should also be encouraged to remove to this division. The affairs of the United States'



Union will never be in a wholesome condition, till several black Representatives from these low regions are seated in the House of Representatives at Washington. This is a more plausible scheme,—would form a better Liberia, than the African Liberia.

It, nevertheless, but ill becomes the home British to say much about the United States' slavery, or, indeed, about any slavery. The causes which operate to promote or prevent direct slavery have never, that I am aware of, been clearly pointed out. Slaves (direct) are found only where land is cheap. When the land, from its redundancy in proportion to population, as in America, is of little or no value, the whole property consists of labour, or the produce of labour, and the covetous man not being able to satisfy his lust for riches by the produce of his own labour, has no other way of gratifying it but by obtaining possession of the persons of his fellow-men, and compelling them to labour the otherwise unprofitable ground for his emolument; and this he finds profitable, because the produce of labour, even of slave-labour, in this favourable field for production, is more than sufficient to support his slaves as reproductive labouring stock, or to purchase new ones should they wear out. On the reverse, slaves (direct) are not found when the land has been all occupied, and has reached any considerable value or rental. Wherever this has taken place, and population has become dense, hired or piece labour becomes more profitable than slave-labour, and drives it from the field. The reason of this is obvious: man in a state of comparative liberty of action, has more of mental energy to stimulate and carry on his corporeal exertions, and to direct



them to more profitable effect, than when under direct slavery, while at the same time he can be maintained at less cost as a reproductive animal when in semblance free. Besides, when the land has been all taken up, and has come into the hands of a small number of the community, these, from being the possessors of property, generally obtain the governing power, and form a land aristocracy class. They proceed to legislate and levy taxation in the most partial and unjust manner, to forward their own selfish interests, they secure the land property to themselves and their posterity, and, by taking advantage of the poverty and necessity for food of the labouring population, make out to obtain a more complete command over their labour, and more power to render them subservient to their pleasure and luxury, than if the working population were slaves direct.

In this way, by means of a food-monopoly, for the emolument of the heir or eldest male of the family, and excessive taxation upon the necessaries of the working people for the support of the younger branches, our governing land aristocracy have done every thing in their power to bring the working population to a complete state of *indirect* slavery, the only slavery which, from the nature of things in Britain, is profitable or practicable, and they have succeeded,—the destitution and hollow cheek of wife and children being a more powerful incentive to severe toil than the whip of the hippopotamus hide. A sufficient emigration would help to reform this.



## V.

*The Mississippi Basin.*

This vast extent of very fertile territory, in which rivers navigable for 3000 miles upward from the ocean hold their course, extends from the Lakes of Canada on the north, to the Gulf of Mexico on the south, and from the highlands of the Alleghany and Cumberland ranges on the east, to the Rocky Mountains far to the westward.

The greatest labour of Hercules, the noblest deeds recorded of man in ancient or modern history, sink to nought when compared to the doings of Brother Jonathan. It was but as yesterday when he first stood on the highest summit of the Alleghany range, and, gazing down upon the illimitable western wilderness, boldly resolved to people the whole extent; and already cities, and towns, and villages, and innumerable clearances, are scattered over nearly a million of square miles. True to his purpose, Jonathan is progressing in a ratio of increase never before equalled, and, in the course of a century at the present increment, this great and most fertile field for the extension of the human race will contain a progeny exceeding the whole of the population of Europe.

This region, upon a closer inspection, presents traces of a former population of considerable amount, and, as some facts would seem to indicate, of considerable civilization. It is not easy to account for the extinction or displacement of a numerous population of a country so fertile, and comparatively so



temperate. The ancient records of the Mexican Empire, as well as the old world history of mankind, however, speak of the migrations of whole communities, for which no sufficient reason is given, or can well be traced, and the population may have moved to the Mexican territory, only a few stragglers remaining, to degenerate into roaming savages. It is also not impossible that some destructive pestilence, such as has lately swept off entire tribes of the red race in the neighbourhood of the Rocky Mountains, may have passed over this immense valley, leaving only a few scattered individuals, scarcely able to contend for existence with the other numerous types of animal and vegetable life struggling for occupancy in this teeming field.

This great river-land rises almost imperceptibly from the level of the Mexican Gulf at New Orleans, to the neighbourhood of the Canadian Lakes, where it attains an elevation of nearly 600 feet above the sea. It is comparatively a level country, with only gentle undulations, and, in some places to the westward, with rounded gravel hillocks, relieving the uniformity. A great portion of it, like Upper Canada, consists of limestone strata, covered with a pretty thick layer of diluvium, constituting a fertile and manageable soil. The eastern half was fifty years ago a continued forest of magnificent hard-wood trees ; but in which numerous clearances have now been effected by the industry of the settler, and the demand for timber-fuel to the numerous steamers. To the west, beyond the confluence of the Mississippi and the Missouri, a considerable portion of the country consists of prairies, extensive fields covered



with tall rough grasses, and skirted by portions of forest. The absence of trees in these extensive meads has been variously accounted for, some attributing it to conflagrations (the most probable cause), some to the dryness of the climate. It is also not impossible that the gramineæ, though a comparatively smaller order of plants, may have greater power of occupancy than the trees in this locality,—the rank grass smothering the annual shoot rising from the forest-tree seed. These beautiful prairies, frequently wider than the eye can reach across, afford most excellent stations for the settlers who migrate thus far westward. They locate themselves in a circular ring around the margin of these flowery grassy plains, where the forest-belt affords plenty of timber for houses, enclosures, and fuel; they cultivate the nearer portion of the prairie, where not a stone is to be found, and nothing interferes with the ploughshare but the strong roots of the grassy sward; and they drive their herds to pasture a little farther into the interior of what appears like a verdant sea. The pastoral life is far more desirable here than in British America; the winter being only about one-half as long as in the maritime provinces of the St Lawrence, or even in Upper Canada, while the Herculean labour of removing the dense forest which covers nearly the whole of America to the eastward, is not required. Immense herds of wild cattle once fed upon these pastures, but they, like the red Indian, have retired westward, before the fire-armed European, and are only now to be found towards the base, and amidst the fastnesses of the Rocky Mountains. This fine



prairial country, were measures taken to destroy the wild dogs or wolves, might be rendered very productive of wool, the export of which, down to New Orleans, would be easily accomplished.

The great distinguishing features of the Mississippi Basin, are the vast abundance of fine level land, capable of supporting a very dense population, and the immense system of rivers ramifying through it, a number of the tributaries of the Mississippi flowing a distance of 1000 miles before they join the grand stream, and being conveniently navigable for nearly their whole course by steam vessels.

The ease of communication, however, and of transit by the system of rivers, has the effect to scatter the settlers in all directions, so much so, as to present a great impediment to the advantageous division of labour, and use of combined labour, and thus to retard the progress of improvement, although this condition of man, no doubt, has a very favourable effect to increase his acuteness and general capacity. Had the system of river-communication been wanting, it is probable, that the new settlements in this comparatively level fertile territory, would now be conducted by carrying forward railways, and settling within a practicable distance of the lines, in a more systematic, and, perhaps, on the whole, more advantageous manner for the speedy production of wealth, than by the rivers. As it is, the rivers are the highways,—the lines of traffic,—the landmarks,—the connecting medium with the world of civilization,—the system of nerves by which the electric currents of opinion and social sympathy, are transmitted from the more vital parts to the



extremities. In North America, a strong and constant tide of emigration is setting westward. There is a fascination in the wilderness. The bold young American of the North-Eastern States, chooses a helpmate, collects some clothing, takes up his rifle and hatchet, and, trusting entirely to his own prowess, marches off in the direction of the setting sun. He crosses the Blue Mountains, commits himself and mate to the rivers, and penetrates more than a thousand miles into the heart of the western wilderness. There is something highly exciting and grateful to youthful daring and independence, in traveling onward in search of a future home, and having found some sweet encouraging spot in the bosom of the wilderness, in rearing every thing by one's own handiwork.

The superior means of communication in this region, and the absence of natural and artificial barriers, as it is being occupied, with the exception of the slave population southward, by one race speaking one language, dispose it for becoming the seat of one very great empire, perhaps exceeding the Chinese in population; while, from the superior energy of the race, and higher civilization, it will be incomparably superior to the Chinese in national influence, and in power over the future destinies of man.

All this low flat country is defective in salubrity, the whole of the Mississippi Basin being tainted with miasm atmosphere. Fever and ague, and in the fall, dangerous remittents, are more or less common over all the region, increasing in malignity as we get lower down in the system of the rivers, till at New Orleans, "the wet grave," we reach the *ne*



*plus ultra* of insalubrity. This is exceedingly unfortunate, as New Orleans is fitted by position for being the emporium of North America. It is said, that six hundred Irish labourers migrate down the Ohio and Mississippi every season, attracted downward by the wages rising, and the rum falling in price as they descend, till they reach New Orleans, where the arrivals of last season are almost to a man cut off every fall by the yellow fever. The Banks of the beautiful Ohio, by the French called, *par excellence*, "La Belle Rivière," are perhaps the most salubrious of all this region, especially higher up eastward, towards Pittsburgh. It is not easy to determine what effect the nearly entire removal of the forest might have upon the climate. It would, in all probability, render it drier,\* and in some degree more salubrious; but as the great cause of the insalubrity is the annual flooding of the alluvial grounds, along the river-sides, and as the rivers and river inundations are on so vast a scale, and the river-beds gradually changing, hither and thither, through the alluvial grounds, liable to be flooded, so that the labour of man cannot, by forming embankments, have much effect in circumscribing the over-

\* In Prussia, from the increase of population, and great improvements of the country of late years, much of the country has been stripped of its forest cover; the consequence is, that the fall of rain has been considerably diminished, and the evaporation increased; and the rivers, which used to continue streams of considerable depth all the year round, are now nearly dried up during the summer months. This has interfered to a considerable extent with the internal navigation, and in districts of dry sandy soil is regarded with considerable apprehension. The Elbe has, it is said, fallen several feet.



flowings of the rivers, a complete removal of the malaria cannot be expected.

This country affords a field, at least sufficiently extensive, for British emigrants ; but from the fever, and ague character of the territory, particularly to the south and west,—the whole of the regions of the Mississippi Proper, of the Wabash, Missouri, and Arkansas, the British emigrant, more especially the agriculturist, ought to prefer the Alleghany highlands. In some of the towns on the Ohio, artisans, who are not so much exposed to the exhalations from the soil as agriculturists, may find a favourable field.



## CHAPTER IV.

## MEXICO.

The Mexican empire, extending from  $15^{\circ}$  to  $41\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  north latitude, has the greater portion of its territory within the temperate zone. It consists chiefly of a central highland country, or table-land (which may be considered a prolongation of the Andes). A great portion of this table-land is elevated from five to ten thousand feet above the sea level, intersected in some places with river-ravines of great depth, and having a number of mountain ranges and peaks rising from it to considerably greater elevation, some of them covered with perpetual snow, and the highest exceeding 17,000 feet of altitude. This high table-land, declining very gradually from the Vale of Mexico, latitude  $19^{\circ}$ , to Santa-Fé, latitude  $37^{\circ}$ , is skirted on the east by a rich flat sea-board, like the Atlantic sea-board of the Southern United States, apparently the sea bed at some former period; while, on the western side, the highlands begin to rise immediately from the Pacific. The whole sea-coast, east and west, especially the portion within the tropics, is unhealthy, and this continues, till, by travelling inward, you leave the common tropical vegetation, and, gaining an elevation of about 3000 feet, reach the region of Oak. Along



the Mexican Gulf, and from Vera-Cruz to the Texas, the cholera morbus is the most fatal distemper, while on the Western, or Pacific side, the yellow fever is nearly equally destructive ; and it is only in the winter and spring, when these destroyers seem to hibernate, that Europeans ought to attempt to make their exit from, or entrance into, the comparatively healthy interior. The Eastern sea-board is very defective in regard to harbours, the rivers having dangerous bars, and the sea being shallow for some distance from land, as it generally is on all low coasts. This deficiency of good harbours is the more to be regretted, as, from the insalubrity of the climate, it will be very difficult to remedy the defect by the formation of artificial harbours. The most of the low country is, however, fertile, and suited for raising sugar, and other tropical produce, so as to attract agricultural settlers, or rather colonists ; and the advantages of a situation which, notwithstanding the deficiency of good harbours, commands the trade of the whole of Mexico, through which the vast wealth derived from the very rich mines of the interior must pass outward, and all the European manufactures in return pass inward, is also a strong inducement to commercial settlers.

Leaving out the insalubrity of the climate of the sea-board, Mexico presents a combination of advantages unique in character. The position, a long neck of land joining two great continents, and dividing the two great oceans, thus holding in the right hand the commerce of the East of Asia, and in the left, the commerce of Europe ; the possession of incomparably the richest and most workable



mines of the precious metals (especially silver) that are known in the world ; and the being capable of raising, within itself, all kinds of tropical produce in the low hot regions, and all the valuable grain, and vine and orchard produce of temperate climates in the delightful more elevated country, where, in some places, they enjoy a perpetual spring, combine to render it an extremely tempting Emigration Field. It is only, however, at moderate elevations that the cereal plants and fruits appear in great luxuriance and perfection. At very high elevations, though the temperature be sufficient, the rarity of the atmosphere comes to affect their growth, they are comparatively weak and stunted, and, as well as the animals, seem to languish from the insufficient density of the element in which the functions of life are carried on.

Mexico, notwithstanding its great natural advantages, is not at present very prosperous. The population are of a mixed description, the descendants of Spaniards, and Indians and Negroes, with all the intermediates ; and since the establishment of independence, things have not settled down properly. There is a deficiency of knowledge and political judgment, and combinable power. The population are not sufficiently enlightened for self-government, and would require a superior class to act as leaders,—something resembling our feudal system. The priesthood serve in some degree to supply the defect, and to bind society together ; but they are so bent upon their own mischievous dogmas and institutions,—upon keeping up their idle saint-day observances, their charity bequeathments and monastic religious



establishments, that they greatly repress the industry of the country, inducing the people to lose their time in superstitious mummeries, and to squander their means in feeding profligate mendicants. Public opinion, and the rules of society, being thus founded upon false or mistaken principles, are also very deficient as a moral regulating power. The government is, in consequence, defective in organization and strength, and not very stable, and property and life comparatively insecure. The northern parts enjoy a temperate climate, but they are almost a wilderness, subject to the inroads of the wild roving Indians, and in some places under Indian sovereignty. In the western parts, towards the Gulf of California, affairs are very unsettled; this is the more to be regretted, as these regions, particularly the province of Senora, are extremely rich in silver, and the climate, especially to the northward, favourable to Europeans.

The portion of Mexico, which at present most concerns the British emigrant, and indeed the British nation, is the province immediately adjacent to Louisiana, and extending south-west, towards the Rio Bravo, named the Texas. A part of this province has recently been overwhelmed by an inundation of the United States' people (merely a private affair, however, and not a government invasion, for which the authorities of that country can in any way be considered accountable), and all the power which the Mexican empire has been able to exert, has been baffled, in attempting to drive back the invading legions of settlers.

Raising colonial produce (better designated tropical produce), from the great demand in the Euro-



pean and North American markets, has hitherto been a far more profitable occupation than raising the agricultural produce of temperate countries. And the cause of this friendly visit, or love-intrusion of Brother Jonathan, is the adaptation of the Texas territory for raising tropical produce, with the superiority of the climate to that of Louisiana, the lower portion of which is the only part of the United States well suited for raising of this kind of produce, but which, from New Orleans upward, for at least five hundred miles, is a pestiferous (well named) "Dismal swamp."

Another cause of the spirited progress of Jonathan is, that by the Mexican law no slavery can exist within the empire, while in the Texas territory it is by slave-labour only that tropical produce is to be raised in any considerable quantity, and wealth amassed. The United States' people, with a considerable command of slaves, have, therefore, a stronger motive for possessing this soil, productive under slave-labour, and for expelling the Mexican government; and even the old Mexican proprietors, where the ground has been appropriated, finding they can make most of their property under Jonathan liberty,—preferring the liberty to have slaves, to the slaves having liberty, make no strenuous effort in support of their own government.

Seeing that the contest in the Texas resolves itself into the question of slavery and no slavery, and considering the vast importance, politically, of the possession of that province, which is calculated to command the Eastern trade of Mexico, and, in all probability, to determine the possession of Mexico



itself, it is surely a high object of British policy to prevent a slave-driving banditti from plundering our natural ally of Mexico, of her most valuable province.

It is even a duty incumbent on the British Government towards our West Indian planters, now that these are no longer slave-drivers themselves, to see that a slave-state does not spring up in the vicinity, which, by the unfair advantage of compulsory labour, would ruin the success of our free labour system. Should some steps not be immediately taken, the probability is, that a considerable portion of the twenty millions given by the nation to redeem our slaves, will go to the Texas, and the neighbouring low country southward to Vera Cruz, to found new slave-States, and perpetuate slavery, and, at the same time, to an immense extent to strengthen a rival's power.

Ireland is now teeming with a very numerous, and, as things are regulated, a greatly over-abundant population, so situated, that a deficient crop is followed with a pestilent typhus, which carries off vast numbers, a consequence of the extreme reduction of bodily vigour, caused by starvation. And from the rapid increase of population now going on, and the comparative abundant crops of late years, the effects of a scanty crop are the more to be dreaded. The Texas province, especially in the interior valleys, a few days' journey up the beautiful rivers, where a country, as healthy as Upper Canada, abounding in pasture, and superior in productiveness, in beauty, and in every way more advantageous for a settler, is lying almost desolate, would be a most de-



sirable emigration-field for our poor and destitute fellow-subjects. The emigration of a million of Irish population, accompanied and directed by their priesthood, who, from the circumstances under which they have been placed, are generally an indefatigably humane body of men, and in some respects necessary to the direction and government of their trusting flocks, would be a very great relief to the Irish remaining at home ; and the emigrants, under proper direction, would, after a few years of exertion, find themselves comparatively in an earthly paradise.\* There is no doubt that the government of Mexico would be ready to give every possible encouragement to an auxiliary British importation of subjects. From the Irish being generally of the Roman Catholic persuasion, the same as the Mexicans, the amalgamation would take place readily, and the Mexican government, supported by British influence and connection, would obtain strength and stability to enforce obedience to the laws in her own territories, and to command a respectful and just forbearance on the part of foreign powers. Considered in relation to British interests, the stability of affairs, and consequent prosperity of Mexico, would be of the greatest advantage to British industry, as Mexico, on account of her vast internal riches, is one of the very best customers for British manufactures; and our protective connection would necessarily place the trade on the most favourable footing. A sufficiently strong government would also be of incalculable ad-

\* The removal of a great number of the Irish population is absolutely necessary. If something extensive in this way be not done, a convulsion may be expected.



vantage to the British capitalists, who have invested so much money in the Mexican mines. Besides, an alliance offensive and defensive with Mexico, would have the certain effect to render the British influence permanent in the West Indies.

The whole affair resolves itself into this, are the United States to be allowed to seize upon Mexico, and to deprive Britain of her West Indian empire? This is even more likely to take place, than the dreaded conquest of the East Indies by Russia. The United States and Russia are clearly aiming at these two objects; and it for us to prevent them, by taking precautionary measures in time.



## CHAPTER V.

## THE WESTERN TERRITORY OF NORTH AMERICA.

This territory extends in length from the 41st degree of North Lat. north-westward to the polar circle, bounded by the Rocky and Stony Mountains on the east, and the Pacific on the west. The southern parts from N. Lat.  $41^{\circ}$  to  $53^{\circ}$ , a thousand miles in length and several hundreds in breadth, is in many respects a very favourable field for British emigration, possessing numerous excellent harbours, extensive sounds and firths and rivers well suited for the seat of a maritime people, and for carrying on trade with eastern Asia, and the numerous island groups of the Pacific. The principal river in the southern portion, the Columbia, has been frequently traced by British and United States' travellers and hunters, and is found to flow through a rugged country of great fertility, abounding in the most gigantic trees that have ever been seen in any part of the world, some of them exceeding 100 yards in height; *Pinus Douglasii* (a species of spruce, one of which is described by Ross Cox, growing south of the Columbia, 57 feet in circumference and 216 feet of stem clear of branches) being the forest Queen, the greatest of all the land vegetable creation.



From the accounts we are in possession of, this portion of America is mountainous and rugged in the interior, spurs of the Rocky Mountains extending westward to the coast. The climate appears to be colder than that of Europe of the same latitude. The position on the west side of a great continent in the temperate zone, with extensive sea toward the prevalent winds, is favourable to mild temperature, and very similar to that of western Europe; but the Pacific to the westward of these shores may not be modified in temperature by having any considerable current from the south-west similar to the gulf stream in the Atlantic, and the breath of Zephyrus may not, in consequence, be rendered quite so mild and balmy as with us. The north-west slanting of the shore with land to the north is also a defect of position in regard to mildness, and must render the winter more severe than in western Europe, which has sea towards the pole, besides the land is not so much cut and intermingled with internal seas as in Europe, which also must exert a modifying effect. Much, however, will depend upon whether the south-west winds or the north-east winds are more prevalent here or in Europe.

The numerous firths and sounds and insular positions along the sea-board are very favourable to the occupation of fishing, the coast being thronged by prodigious shoals of fish, particularly the salmon, which come up so plentifully into the rivers at certain seasons to spawn, that vast numbers may be killed by clubs, and supply a great proportion of the food of the natives, and even serve them for clothing, the Nootka Sound belles having chemises and other



attire of salmon skins, when they cannot reach so high as have them of the skins of the sea-otter.

A proof of the natural resources of this fine temperate country is, that the natives are rather more numerous here than they have been found in any other quarter of North America, with the exception of Mexico, although they are not advanced beyond the condition of hunters and fishers. They have been found to take a resolute part in defence of what they consider their property-right to the country, and fatal results have several times attended the visits of vessels, owing to their jealousy and treachery. Their numbers, combined with this disposition, forms a considerable barrier to the colonization of the country by Europeans.

These lands from California to Analaska, from their extreme remoteness, have been nearly forgotten of late years, excepting by a few Russian and United States' vessels, which resort to these shores for the valuable furs of the sea-otter, obtained from the natives by barter. Several lodgments have, however, been effected by the Russians from Kamtschatka in the more northerly parts, which are held as Fur stations and as nuclei of future extension of territory. Settlements have also been attempted by the British and by the United States' people to the southward, but without success, from the inadequacy of the means employed. The country is, however, so extremely desirable to Britain as an emigration-field that a lodgment should be effected, either by a strong colonizing armament doubling Cape Horn, or by advancing up the Rio Bravo from the Texas to Santa Fe, in subsidiary alliance with the



Mexican government and colonizing westward along the Rio Colorado and the Columbia :—best in both ways.

The British interests in Mexico and the West of America will, however, in all probability, be neglected. Our national energy, at least in relation to national external objects, has sunk greatly of late years ; the attention of the two classes in Britain—the landlord class, or governing aristocracy, and the working class, having been engrossed by a home struggle, the former striving to extend or maintain monopoly and taxation to afford means of gratification to its growing luxury, and the other class devising means to free itself from an extent of burdensome taxation and monopoly beyond what has ever before existed in any country. Other causes have also had some influence to increase our neglect of the external means of advancing the national prosperity. The enthusiasm of a first discovery of distant lands has passed away, and the foolish doctrines of ignorant political economists respecting colonies have been listened to. Luxury in the one class, and the great division of labour and long hours of labour in the other, are also limiting and impairing the energy of the human powers, and inducing a condition approaching to the tame degradation of the East Indian by Cast, or of the Chinese by long confirmed steady despotism. We are, in fact, becoming little men, and the greater part of our aristocracy—sunk in luxury, fit only to intrigue for pensions, and to attend to the etiquette of manners and court dresses, engrossed with the little arts to appear great, are incapable of regulating the affairs of the world



(which our position calls upon us to do). The spirit which actuated the Spaniard, and Portuguese, and Dutch, and British, a century or two ago, has passed from Europe, and we are only fitted to "chronicle small beer" at a time when, by means of the Steam-engine and other modern Discoveries, a few hands can provide food and clothing for a great number, disposable for any purpose of National Utility, we have acquired the power to carry through plans which our Fathers could only dream of, and, if necessary, to turn the World upside down ;—Discoveries, the advantage of which our aristocracy would, however, engross entirely to themselves to feed their growing luxury, regarding all manufacturing establishments as so many Bee-hives, the busy members of which have been providentially destined to gather honey from the uttermost ends of the Earth for them to devour.



## CHAPTER VI.

## THE CAPE.

The country of the Cape of Good Hope, the Cape of Storms, constituting the apex of the Pyramid of Africa, is situated between  $29^{\circ}$  and  $34\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  south latitude, extending, according to its present not very accurately defined frontier outline, about 600 miles in length, from east to west, and 400 in breadth, from north to south.

The Cape territory is, upon the whole, barren, and rugged, and mountainous, and very deficient in the means of communication, as well by water as by land. The western coast from Cape Town to the mouth of Orange river, and considerably farther north beyond the frontier (with the exception of an indifferent haven a few leagues north of Cape Town) is not only completely destitute of harbours, but also from the extreme barrenness of the country, and almost total want of fresh water, in no condition to benefit by harbours had they even existed. A portion of the south-eastern coast is however of a different character, having several fine rivers flowing into the Indian Ocean, along the valleys of which a considerable extent of beautiful and fertile country is to be found well adapted for European settlements, especially



towards the north-east frontier, where the country generally is well wooded and watered, and favourable for agriculture and grazing. With the exception of the north-east district, a great portion of the country like the western coast, consists of barren mountains and arid plains, one of which, the Great Karoo Desert, a high parched table-land, totally destitute of water, separating the Cape Town district from the finer country to the north-east, extends about 100 leagues in length from east to west, and 30 in breadth. This district, a pretty good sample of South African wastes, undergoes a magical transition—alternately a desert and an Eden—at one season of the year after the winter rains, it is an immense blooming wilderness, covered with innumerable flowering plants, chiefly of the liliaceous and bulbous-rooted kinds, with thousands of springbokes and quaggas, and other herbivorous quadrupeds roaming over it; at another season after the summer drought, it is a leafless, lifeless desert, as far as the eye can reach, of hard parched clay or sand.

The African quarter of the world, a large continent chiefly intertropical, with little of the surface of sufficient altitude to counterbalance the effects of tropical latitude, and the northern portion situated to leeward of an extensive torrid continent, is necessarily a very hot country. With the exception of the low Guinea regions, and the parts immediately under the line, which are subject to excessive rains (apparently from electric influences), this continent is of a very arid character, the high temperature greatly promoting evaporation. Many parts, as well to the south as to the north of the tropics, are destitute of



vegetable cover to the soil, especially during the dry season, and present a surface of dry sand or clay, subject to be blown about by the winds. This sand or dust-drift lodges in the water channels (frequently dry at this season), and when the heavy rains set the rivers and streamlets a-flowing, or give them greater impetuosity, the materials which had lodged in their beds are carried down to the sea, and beaten back by the action of the waves, fill up or blockade all the gulfs and firths and river mouths along the coast, even forming sand-hills of considerable elevation, where deep gulfs and creeks suited for harbours had once existed. From this cause, Africa, excepting on the Guinea coast, is very deficient of harbours, as well on the Mediterranean as on the Atlantic and Indian sea-shores; a defect which it would be difficult to repair by human exertion, and which could only be remedied by the excavation of low rocky headlands (these form convenient harbours), as the mouth of an erected harbour, in any other locality, would be drifted up by the moving sea sand. The aridity of the air of the Cape, and the sand dust, is also found to be very injurious to the eyes, many cases of blindness occurring; to guard against this sand-dust, a gauze veil is frequently worn.

The climate of the Cape—hot but comparatively temperate, considering the latitude—is, upon the whole, favourable to Europeans, or at least to their increase. From the poverty of the soil,\* or rather

\* Fertility, or rather production, is not altogether dependent upon richness of soil. In a warm climate, the growth of vegetables or the crop is more under the control of an opportune shower than of the quality of the soil, or the husbandman's



from the absence of vegetable matter in the soil and the aridity, the country is pretty free of malaria; nor are the population so liable to dyspepsia as those of the United States and Upper Canada. The climate is also advantageous to people liable to pulmonary disease, none of the native race, as is said, having ever been known to cough. As a balance, inflammatory attacks and diseases,—measles, small pox, and other cutaneous affections, are very infectious and dangerous, partly from atmospheric influences, and partly on account of the population subsisting chiefly upon animal food, combined with the high temperature. The descendants of the Dutch colonists (Africaners) are a fine luxuriant race, the men tall and large bodied, the females pretty and round, and both sexes of a very different build from the lathy Yankee. The aridity of the air in the dry season is, however, an enemy to the rosy hue and the dewy freshness of the cheek and lip of the Dutch beauty, to which a moist cool air is necessary; and under exposure at the Cape, a very few seasons is sufficient “to transfix the flourish set on youth, and delve the parallels in beauty’s brow.” The heat of the climate, and perhaps the abundance of animal food, has also the effect to bring life to what we consider a premature close, and it is said few burial-grounds afford memorials of *Africaners* exceeding fifty years of age.

exertions, and the application of manure. The crop in these countries being thus precarious has an injurious effect upon agriculture, as the exertions of the husbandman can only deserve success. Perhaps Britain is the country where the exertions of the husbandman go nearest to command success, and this in part accounts for the superiority of his practice.



To the naturalist, South Africa affords a very interesting field, a field where the larger forms of life are more varied than in any other region, and where the adaptation of the organic constitution to circumstances is also very conspicuously marked. The ruminant and the thick-skinned mammalia are especially numerous, as well in genera and species as in multitude of individuals, and the carnivorous kinds which prey upon them nearly equally so. These afford to the hunting amateur a variety of game to suit every peculiarity of appetite for destruction,—the elephant, hippopotamus, rhinoceros, giraffe, lion, leopard, hyæna, quagga, numerous quadrumanna, and vast assortments of deer and antelopes, presenting an unequalled choice quite sufficient to content the most fastidious taste and the greatest love of variety. These, and all other living things which have sufficient locomotive powers, migrate to other regions on the occurrence of drought;—the reptilia and insect tribes creeping into holes become torpid, and chrysalides, or outstand the period of arid death in the egg state, defended by an impervious shell; and vegetable life, with a few exceptions of stem and leaves of peculiar powers of resisting drought, retires into the earth, where, in the state of fleshy bulbs, with numerous concentric defensive scale-layers, it is able to withstand the parching destruction.

It is nearly 200 years since the Dutch formed a settlement at the Cape, and only last war that it fell into the hands of the British. In order to give the colony something of a British character, Government, several years back, gave considerable encouragement



and assistance to settlers proceeding from this country, and a British colony was located at Algoa Bay, the eastern limits of the Cape territory. This colony, considering the capital and numbers engaged in it, has been far from prosperous. The grain crops during the three first years, from blights and ignorance of the climate, were a complete failure, and a number of the houses and gardens situated within the reach of torrents, which here swell to the size of rivers by the excessive rains which sometimes occur, were swept away or destroyed. Notwithstanding of this, and that considerable numbers of the settlers deserted the place, some retiring to Cape Town, some proceeding to other districts of the colony, and some returning home to Britain ; yet the energy and perseverance of the more resolute, at length mastered the first difficulties : they had obtained numerous flocks and herds, and a sufficiency of food, had ramified their grazing and agricultural establishments to considerable distance along the interior valleys, and had erected a town (Graham's Town), when the whole settlement was nearly swept away about four years ago by an irruption of the Caffre tribes.

It is not easy to determine the proximate causes which led to this unfortunate war. The leading or primary cause was the occupation, by a numerous body of settlers, of a country already nearly peopled up to the means of subsistence. The natives of Southern Africa are a shepherd or rather neatherd population, to which, indeed, the climate and country is more fitted than for an agricultural, by reason of the great droughts to which it is subject. These droughts frequently render a removal to another locality ne-



cessary when the pastures fail, to prevent the cattle from perishing, which is but following the practice of the wild animals. The British colony had occupied a country which had remained for some time a sort of neutral ground, from whence the native Caffre population had been obliged to retire by the commando-plundering expeditions of the Dutch, but to which they (the Caffres) resorted in cases of the failure of the pasturages to which they had retired. Further encroachments had been made by the British settlers, in numerous instances, upon grounds along the frontier in common use by the natives. Numerous misunderstandings and quarrels had arisen between the two races brought into contact, but ignorant of each other's language, and no doubt, grievous offences had, in many instances, been committed by the better armed upon the more defenceless. It is also said that tribes still further to the north-east, in consequence of the droughts or other causes, had moved south-west, pushing those more immediately adjacent to the Cape Colony forward in the same direction, (perhaps the recoil of the wave of population north-eastward which the ingress of the British colony had occasioned). A combination of circumstances had thus led to a grand attack by the neighbouring Caffre tribes upon the Algoa British Colony, which, in the first place, drove every thing before it, and compelled the settlers to retire upon Grahamstown, and to entrench themselves in the city; and it was not till after nineteen months of exterminating warfare carried on by nearly the whole disposable force of the Cape, that the irruption was driven back and



something like a settlement of affairs brought about at a cost to Great Britain of nearly L.250,000.

By the last accounts things are yet in a precarious state. New encroachments have been made and injuries committed by the African Dutch, and considerable destruction of life and property has taken place by native retaliation. It will be very difficult to bring about a steady and peaceful order of things, at least by the rude means at present employed. Nothing would so much tend to effect this as to have civilization establishments with all the more influential tribes, and these tribes to be received as allies under British protection, and treated in the kindest and most generous manner. To do this systematically, it would be necessary to form a peace or educational South African corps (in which missionaries might take a considerable part) similar to what will afterwards be described as necessary to the civilization of New Zealand. This would be attended with considerable cost to Britain, but it would be cheaper to employ moral force in part than to employ only compulsory force, and surely if the accomplishment of a purpose by wrong and injury is more costly than by kind offices, we ought to prefer the latter.

Till something of this nature has been effected, the Cape Colony, especially the English settlements to the eastward, though rather favourably situated in regard to temperature and healthiness of climate, and of considerable fertility, will not afford a desirable emigration field; and even were protection to person and property complete, the deficiency of good harbours and difficulty of communication, and occa-



sional disastrous droughts and locust visitations, are insuperable drawbacks to the rapid progression of the colony. The deficiency of good harbours is the more to be regretted, as the position is very favourable for commerce.

In countries where extreme droughts are occurring in particular districts, the population are generally nomadic, as herds and flocks can be removed to other localities where subsistence is to be found; whereas an agricultural population would be destroyed unless they could procure foreign supplies, or retained in magazines sufficient store of grain for one or even more years, and had artesian wells, or large deep tanks capable of affording a sufficiency of water. Whenever a shepherd population are accustomed to migrate, individual land property-right is not in use, the land right being vested in the community.

The Caffre is not, however, endowed with the meek enduring nature and passive courage of the Hindoo, who expires of famine by hundreds of thousands without disturbance. When the Caffre puts on the girdle of famine (a tight bandage round the middle to prevent the gnawing of hunger), the bonds of government are loosened, and all alliances and compacts with other tribes, and respect to their property or life, are at an end. It is not, therefore, to be expected that any means, within the compass of the British Government, or of any government, can bring things to a very secure state in Southern Africa, at least for many years to come.



## CHAPTER VII.

## AUSTRALIA AND TASMANIA.

The great island or continent of Australia, which extends from  $10\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  to  $39\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  South Lat., and from  $113^{\circ}$  to  $153\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  East Long., is nearly of the size of Europe, being about 2000 miles each way, and containing between two and three millions of square miles of surface.

We know almost nothing of the tropical half of this great south land. A colony was indeed attempted at or near Melville Island on the north coast about fifteen years ago, by our Government, but from the inadequacy of means and unhealthiness of the station made choice of, it was abandoned after the party engaged in it had suffered great privations and loss. It is said that large rivers exist in this quarter, abounding with alligators, and the woody nature of the country also shews that the climate is not quite so arid as the extra-tropical part. The general character of the half in the temperate zone is aridity, poverty of soil, healthiness of climate,—low rocky mountains covered with trees and brush, parched plains destitute of water, and an undulating country, partly covered with patches of wood, partly



bare and producing generally a thin tufted coarse grass, twelve acres of which will not supply as much nourishment to stock as one acre of English pasture. Considering the great extent of coast, this half of Australia is comparatively destitute of harbours, especially to the westward of Kangaroo Island on the south coast, and on the west coast, few rivers existing, and those which exist having bar mouths. This deficiency has caused the capital and seat of government to be placed at Sydney, on account of its harbour, although the adjacent country is very barren and river communication wanting.

The climate, in consequence of sea towards the pole, is mild in winter, and from the aridity and lowness of a great part of the country, very hot in summer. However, from the absence of clouds and serenity of the air the nights are cold, especially a little before sunrise and immediately after sunset, although the day has been very hot. The temperature is also, from some unknown influence, extremely variable throughout the day (at least in the South Wales portion), the thermometer frequently rising or falling  $30^{\circ}$  in the course of an hour.

The most remarkable feature of the climate of Australia, at least of the portion in the temperate zone, is the general aridity and the lasting droughts which occur, as is stated at intervals of eight or ten years. At these times for a period of two years in succession, scarcely any rain has been known to fall; the crops, in consequence, being a complete failure and much of the stock perished; while at other times the fall of rain is so great that the rivers are flooded from fifty to seventy feet perpen-



dicular above their usual level, constituting a water power too unmanageable and rude for being employed in driving machinery and rendering the low grounds adjacent to the rivers, which, in other countries, are the most fertile and best peopled, unfit for tillage or for building upon. These periodical great floodings will render the formation of large tanks or lakes for the purpose of irrigation and water supply during the droughts very dangerous to the country further down the valley, as it would be difficult to construct the dam or mole of a tank so stable as not to be liable to be broken down by the great floods, and should this occur, the accumulated mass of waters set loose in conjunction with the flooding would tear up everything in the valley downward to the ocean.

In taking a general survey of extra-tropical Australia, we observe a state of things indicative of great aridity, and a natural provision for withstanding drought fully more complete than in any other parched locality.

1st, A deficiency of timber in many places, and large old trees standing apart, without the young rising to supply the failure of the old,—rather indicating that the drought is on the increase.

2d, The nature of the tree-foliage,—the small, hard, smooth, simple (not divided), dark coloured erect leaf, so different from the beautiful large fresh green leaves of the deciduous forests of Upper Canada, and the Mississippi Basin.

3d, The slough, or covering of dead bark, which serves to protect the living bark of the trees from the drought. This is gradually forming, and coats



are thrown off as the stem enlarges, which appear hanging from the stem in the most unsightly fashion, like tattered garments.

4th, The gummy consistence of the tree-sap, and the flinty hardness of the timber, matured by the great drought, and the absence of a winter check to a solidity and induration which renders it almost useless to man for the purposes of construction.

5th, The herbage, especially the grasses, very scant, and thin and dry, standing apart in tufts.

6th, The native mammalia, generally of the marsupial order,—having a bag, a provision, as it would seem, for the purpose of removing their young when they are obliged to migrate on the occurrence of droughts; while the remnants of past life found in caves and diluvial earth, prove the former existence of mammalia, not marsupial.

These indices of aridity and sterility are not balanced by any apparent counter advantages, or capacity for improvement, excepting the peculiar adaptation for sheep-walk. Were the country too moist, or even insalubrious, drainage and cutting down the forests might remedy the former of these defects altogether, and to a considerable degree the latter. Did it have numerous good harbours, convenient river communication, or supply of water-power suited for machinery, with a cool climate, commerce and manufactures might make some amends for deficiency of fertility. Were the sea as abundant in edible fish around Australia, as in the sea on the east and west coast of North America, and around Britain and New Zealand, the fertility



of the waters might help to repair the sterility of the land. But all this is wanting in Australia.

It is even found out, by experience, that fertility is not increased in Australia, as it is in Britain, by the ground being depastured, but on the contrary, greatly diminished. The country which has been longest under pasturage, in the vicinity of Sydney, and which for some time after the commencement of the colony, afforded comparatively fair pasturage, is now reduced to great sterility. An uncropt cover of grass, thin as it is here, appears useful to shelter the vegetable matter in the soil from being exhausted or evaporated by the arid heat, and even necessary to protect the roots from being burned out by the strong influence of the sun. And the manure of cattle, instead of being covered by the luxuriant herbage, before it is desiccated, and enriching the soil, as in England, under the powerful sun, and arid air, in New South Wales is quickly reduced to dust, and dissipated.

These facts do not promise favourably of the future condition of Australia. Something might be done by attention to keep up or increase the forest cover, which has a great influence in attracting or retaining moisture; but the increase of sheep and cattle are exceedingly opposed to the springing up of woods, and the frequent burning of the withered grass is a complete prevention. It is not improbable that some kind of trees may be found more attractive of dews and rain than others. In the East Indies, it is common, when they plant a certain productive kind of tree, to plant along side of it an-



other kind, of little or no value of itself, which they say has the power to attract moisture sufficient to support the more valuable kind, which would otherwise perish. These they call wet nurses; and it is worth experimenting to ascertain, whether the wet nurse really acts in some peculiar way to attract moisture, or if it merely affords the dampness of shade. If, in the former way, this kind or class of trees might be most advantageously employed in modifying the climate of Australia. In some parts of the dry country of France they have rows of fruit-trees, about one hundred yards apart, in the corn-fields, which affords considerable shelter to the crop from the drought. This plan might be tried in Australia, as well with the grass-fields as with those under tillage; and the effect of different kinds of trees might be tried in different districts, especially the East Indian wet nurse, if it suit the climate. The condition of Easter Island, which, from the destruction of the forest-cover, or some other causes, is now almost entirely destitute of fresh water, and, where a once numerous population are sinking, should not be lost sight of by the Australians.

The New South Wales colony, although vibrating between adversity and prosperity, as moist or dry periods occur, and more than once since the commencement, in absolute jeopardy of existence, has of late years increased very greatly in extension and wealth. The cause of this increase is partly the great expenditure of the government establishment and forces (a fund supplied by the mother country), and the cheap compulsory labour of the convicts. But the grand source of the prosperity, is the ex-



cellent adaptation of the country for supporting great flocks of fine woolled sheep. A certain extent of aridity of climate, producing an herbage not too luxuriant and succulent, is favourable for this class of animals; and the aridity, by preventing the occupancy of a considerable portion of the country by close forest, and thus obstructing the growth of the herbage, obviates the necessity of cutting down the trees, and forming clearances (as in Canada), which requires much hard labour, and which the population of a new settlement are quite inadequate to effect so quickly, as the rapid increase of flocks would demand; while, at the same time, from the absence of any severity of winter, no hard labour is needed to provide hay, and other forage supply.

As things now stand, it is said, the small capitalist, who, like the philosophers of Arden, has a taste for a country life, has nothing more to do to acquire a fortune, but to embark for Australia, and when he arrives, to purchase a few hundreds or thousands of fine woolled sheep, with several horses or bullocks, for carrying his baggage, to engage one or more assistant shepherds, and to start with his whole retinue for the wilderness,—the more distant parts of the colony which are not yet appropriated. The pasture of land of the wilderness costs nothing; when one valley fails of herbage, he can resort to another; the sheep are even more healthy from change of pasture; and at the clipping season, he can wear his flocks to the quarter of the unappropriated country, nearest to a harbour or place, where his wool can be disposed of, and where a new supply of luxuries,—flour, salt, tea, sugar, can be pro-



cured ; with these he can solace for another year, and kill his own mutton.

In this patriarchal way our colonist can, it is said, nearly double his flock every season, and at the end of eight or ten years will have at least a hundred times the number of sheep he commenced with ; while the clip-sale of every season will have more than sufficed for pay of assistant shepherds and all other contingent expenses. This is all likely to take place, provided he find sufficient assistant shepherds, and has had the luck not to be transfixed by a native spear, or has not fallen in some skirmish with some other bush-ranger like himself, and provided no terrible drought occur to reduce his flocks or destroy them altogether. There is no doubt that numbers have succeeded in amassing fortunes in this way, while numbers have been unsuccessful. One flock-master, however, generally collects a little money from the sale of a portion of his stock, as it becomes unmanageably large, to some other adventurer, and purchases some favourite spot in the wilderness, on which his fancy had fed, as it is brought into the market, at which he establishes his head-quarters, and from whence he sends out portions of his stock under experienced shepherds to graze at large on the unlocated country.

Should recurrences of devastating drought not take place things would go on very prosperously, and the whole fine wool supply for British manufacture would soon be furnished by Australia, enriching that country as much as if it possessed the mines of Peru and Mexico. It is, however, greatly to be feared that visitations of drought even more destructive than



what have been witnessed will occur, driving the shepherds of the plains to the mountains for subsistence, and in a few months destroying the accumulated property of an age as well as great numbers of the population. To guard against such contingent danger the Government at New South Wales should have large magazines filled with grain thoroughly dried, and shut up close from insect depredation, which, it is said, here consume in a very short period what is kept in open granary. (Dry grain in a large mass will remain sweet almost any length of time if kept free of damp by a sheet-lead or zinc floor-cover, and close plaster lath around and over it, or still better metallic sheet.)

This is the more necessary as the grain produce of New South Wales is in some seasons extremely abundant, and in others a complete failure—the latter sometimes in consequence of drought, sometimes from blight, which is especially frequent in localities near the sea, and supposed to arise from the great transitions of temperature or from the sea air, as well as from the sirocco blast. A considerable portion of the grain consumed at Sydney is imported from Tasmania, where the climate is more regular, and some portion from Britain. The Hunter river district, about 100 miles north of Sydney, which contains a considerable extent of fertile land, is beginning to afford a quantity, but the supply from this district will never be steady from its liability to blight.

The heat in New South Wales is sometimes extreme, which the following quotation from the Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal will describe:—



“ Mr Martin observes that it is only during the summer months that the hot winds occasionally blow, and raise the mercury to 120° F., when exposed to the wind. When these siroccos are about to occur, the sky assumes a lurid appearance, the sun is hid from the view, the wind suddenly shifts to the north-west, and blows with tremendous violence, and can only be compared to a fiery blast issuing from an immense furnace ; the dust is whirled with rapidity, and distant thunder is heard. At night the flashes of stream lightning present a continually illuminated horizon ; vast forests become a universal blaze of fire, and the flames, borne along with the blast, readily find fresh fuel, carrying terror before, and leaving ruin and desolation behind. Not only does the field of corn, ready for the sickle, become a charred stubble, but houses and domestic animals are reduced to a heap of ashes.....Fortunately these winds seldom last long, rarely more than two days at a time. ....Collins speaks of these siroccos as killing birds, beasts, and men.”

This picture of the effects of extreme heat, which occurring at a critical period of the crop, must entirely blast the promise of a season, independent of the lasting periodical extreme droughts, is enough to render precaution, especially in the case of a greatly increased population, highly necessary. Perhaps no country has a more steady climate than the British Isles, or is more regular in production, a consequence of the insular position and mountain ranges preventing great droughts, or any extreme being so general—west winds commonly bringing rain on the west, and east winds on the east side of



the country. This disposition of things at home has an effect to render the British not sufficiently alive to the danger to be apprehended from droughts in other regions, and which seem to be most prevalent in localities situated from  $15^{\circ}$  to  $35^{\circ}$  of Lat. It is, therefore, probable that sufficient precautionary means will not be taken in Australia and the South of Africa till some terrible visitation of famine and consequential disease be our fatal instructor, such as sometimes occurs in the East Indies, but which only affecting a people far out of view, and with whom we have little sympathy, our Indian Government is allowed to treat with neglect. The following (abridged) quotation of the account of a famine in Guzerat in 1811, by Captain James Rivett Carnac, Political Resident at the Court of Guicawar, may serve to give some idea of a calamity of this nature. The superstitious Hindoos attributed the famine to the wrath of an offended Deity because of the sins of that portion of India, as some of our established clergy in Britain did the yellow fever, which was so prevalent at New York about the same time, not, however, because of the immorality of the Americans, but because they had emancipated themselves from British tyranny. The famine at least was a consequence of sin, not of commission but of omission, not of the direct sin of the sufferers, but of their remiss government, which, in a country liable to these visitations, makes no provision against them.

“ It has often been remarked that the appearance of locusts is a prognostic of other evils. In 1811, the annual fall of rain failed at Marwar, and when every vestige of vegetation had disappeared the lo-



custs made their way into the north-west district of Guzerat, and from thence scoured Kattiwar. The failure of grain in Marwar, and the ruin by the locusts of the products of the land, drove the inhabitants into the bosom of Guzerat, where the same causes had begun to operate, thus augmenting the demand on its resources in a twofold degree, and the pressing wants of the people soon reducing the half-famished new comers to the greatest privations. The mortality which ensued among those who had sought refuge after the sufferings of famine in their own district, covered with disease, regardless of every consideration but that promoted by the calls of hunger, almost surpasses my own belief, though an unhappy witness of such horrid events.

“ In the vicinity of every large town, you perceived suburbs surrounded by these creatures. Their residence was usually taken up on the main road under the cover of trees ; men, women, and children promiscuously scattered, some furnished with a scanty covering, others almost reduced to a state of nudity, while, at the same moment, the spectator witnessed, within the range of his own observation, the famished looks of a fellow-creature, aggravated by the pain of sickness ; the desponding cries of the multitude, mingled with the thoughtless playfulness of children, and the unavailing struggles of the infant to draw sustenance from the exhausted breasts of its parent. To consummate this scene of human misery, a lifeless corpse was at intervals brought to notice by the bewailings of a near relative ; its immediate neighbourhood displaying the impatience and wildness excited in the fortunate few who had obtained a pit-



tance of grain, and was devouring it with desperate satisfaction. The hourly recurrence of miseries had familiarized the minds of these poor people, as well as of people in general, to every extremity which nature could inflict. In a short time, these emanations of individual feeling among themselves, which distinguished the first commencement of their sufferings, gradually abated, and the utmost indifference universally predominated.

“ During the progress of these miseries, I have seen a few Marwarees sitting in a cluster, denying a little water to sustain her drooping spirits, to a woman stretched beside them, with a dead infant reposing on her breast. In a few hours this woman had also expired, and her dead body, as well as that of the child remaining close by them, situated as before described without a single attempt to remove them, until the Government peons had performed that office. I have seen a child, not quite dead, torn away by a pack of dogs from its mother, who was unable to speak or move, but lay with anxious eyes directed to the object of its fond affection. I have witnessed those animals watching the famished creatures, who were verging on the point of dissolution, to feast on their bodies; and this spectacle was repeated every successive day in the environs of the town. The number of the Marwarees who died in a single day at Baroda could scarcely be counted, and the return of the burials in twenty-four hours often exceeded 500 bodies. It would be doing an act of injustice, however, to the natives of opulence in Guzerat, to pass over their exertions to alleviate the surrounding distress. The charity of the Hindoos is proverbial; it constitutes



one of the primary tenets of their morality (religion), and is generally unaffectedly dispensed. On the occurrence of the distress and famine, large subscriptions were made, aided by a liberal sum from the native Government, and the objects of the institution were obtained by proper regulations devised for the purpose. I cannot say what numbers were relieved, but the monthly expense of feeding the poor in this town, amounted to some thousands of rupees. It was a cruel sight to witness the struggles, when the doors were opened to apportion their victuals, and it was no unusual thing for a number to fall a sacrifice to their precipitate voracity. Many also whose wants had been supplied, continued to devour until the means intended for their relief proved in the end their destruction in a few hours. Children were often crushed to death under the feet of their parents. The establishment of which I have been speaking was imitated in most of the principal towns of Guzerat, and added a few months of life to a class of beings reserved for greater miseries; indeed, subsequent events would seem to shew that these people were marked for total annihilation. \* \* \* The mortality at Ahmedabad is computed at 100,000 persons, a number nearly equal to one-half of its population. The demand for wood to burn the Hindoo portion of the sufferers, called for the destruction of the houses—even this was barely sufficient for the performance of the rites required by the Hindoo faith, and the half-consumed bodies on the banks of the Pabiermuttee evince, at this hour, to what straits the Hindoos were reduced in fulfilling the last duties to their kindred.”—(*Edin. New Phil. Journal.*)



This statement by the British Resident, is enough to make us pause to consider of the danger to which Australia is liable, with a climate even more precarious than that of Guzerat, and so far distant from extraneous supplies. His account also exemplifies well the effects of direct charity. The Hindoos are a very charitable people, which their religion as well as the Mahommedan greatly inculcates, but their charity being merely an animal instinct or religious impression, not under the guidance of reason, is not provident. They merely feed the hungry indiscriminately, which only leads to idleness, immorality, misery. Charity in Guzerat not being providently directed to improve the condition of society, and the means of individuals to retain a hoarded private supply, nor to lay up a national store, notwithstanding of their "*large subscriptions, aided by a liberal sum from the native Government, and the objects of the institution obtained by proper regulations,*" only served to double the extent of the calamity, and to lengthen the misery,—the gratuitous relief to the strangers only keeping these poor wretches two or three months longer alive, in the most horrible condition that the fancy of man can picture, and scarcely one in a hundred surviving in the end, while, by exhausting their own supplies, the donors involved themselves and the inhabitants of the district in the calamity, nearly one-half of these also perishing.

The climate of New South Wales, and indeed of all the southern half of Australia, notwithstanding the great heat, is salubrious and suitable for Europeans, and especially in the more elevated country, and to the west of the Blue Mountains at Bathurst.



Those born in the country,—the Australian British,—are generally of a good tall size, to which the plenty of animal food will no doubt conduce. But notwithstanding of the salubrity, the infirmities of age and wrinkles approach sooner than in Britain, the teeth also, according to Cunningham, decay at a very early period, which would augur some deficiency in the digestive functions. As in all new countries, even though a little warmer than the parent country, light-coloured hair is more frequent than in the parent country, the complexion is also inclining to a brick-red cast, without the rose-bloom cheek.

It is said that the births in the imported races, as well in man as the lower animals, are considerably more productive of females than of males, which some of the native writers, without attempting to point out the proximate cause, say is providential. The population has not increased (naturally), but has considerably diminished since the foundation of the colony,—the deaths greatly exceeding the births,—the increase of numbers being entirely owing to immigration. This, however, is not the fault of the climate; marriages are sufficiently prolific. The great predominance of males in the colony, and the condition of at least the one-half of these (military or convicts without wives), accounts sufficiently for the defect. Perhaps no colony in the world has been so absurdly conducted as New South Wales. It is not long since the proportion of males to females was as ten to one, while there was still a greater disparity between the grown up of both sexes!! The economy of the British army has not been very humane.—Married men with their families sent off to the seat of war, or to un-



healthy regions, where two-thirds of the mothers and children must sink under the climate, hardships, and privations, while a colony like New South Wales, where population is so desirable, has been garrisoned by no greater proportion of married soldiers than other places. A New South Wales corps should have been formed of soldiers with families, of good moral character, selected from the whole service, and limited to the settlement.

The Aborigines of these regions are a race of savages, perhaps the farthest removed from civilized man of any in existence. Those inhabiting Tasmania, who are even a degree inferior to those of Australia, having been found extremely mischievous and irreclaimable, were recently rooted out and removed to a small island in Bass' Straits, under superintendence, where they are fast dying of ennui. Those in Australia are also fast disappearing in the neighbourhood of the British settlements, and from the inferiority of the race physically as well as from a total incapacity for civilization, there is no necessity for any particular exertion to keep it up, farther than providing that those we come in contact with, if they are not very mischievous, be treated with humanity, and every means taken to induce them to attach themselves to our farming establishments. It would be in the highest degree absurd to get up a nursery of so indifferent a race of savages, or to keep back the extension of the superior civilized races of man over so wide a region as Australia, lest a few stragglers, exhibiting the most humbling picture of the degradation of humanity, should disappear. Perhaps the aridity of Australia and the absence of



edible plants and fruits, and scarcity of fish on the coast, with the want of tame animals, accounts sufficiently for the inferior nature of the indigenes. It, however, is probable that their manner of fighting may have exerted considerable influence. When two tribes quarrel, they go out, at least in the New South Wales district, and give fair battle. Alternately, an individual on each side steps forward, stands with the head bent a little down, and is struck upon the crown of the head thus exposed, by an individual of the other party with a club, and this is continued regularly till one party is put *hors de combat*. This has the certain effect to destroy all those who have skulls inclining to thin, and carried on for many ages, as it in all probability has been (the customs of savages being very permanent), it must have exerted a selecting influence—the thin-skulled falling prematurely, and the thick-skulled remaining for breeders, to render them a thick-skulled race, which they literally are, their skull being nearly double the thickness of the European skull, and able to bear the blow of a club which would split the skull of any other man. Granting that the thick-skulled are really more stupid than the thin, which, only the thick-skulled, we think, will doubt, this must act to lower the mental capacity of the race. Besides, even the concussions may exert an injurious effect upon the intellect, which may become constitutional. Perhaps, it may be argued, that the similar chivalric practice of tilting at each other's heads at tournaments may have exerted a similar influence in this country.

New South Wales being a penal settlement with nearly one-half of the grown-up population consist-



ing of convicts, moral feeling and the tone of society must in some measure be affected. In the business of common life there, it is said, every man proceeds as if no other principle but selfishness of the most gross character regulated the actions of his neighbours. But it would have been folly to expect that the morals of the inmates of a prison-house, containing such an immense number of criminals, could have been better than they really are. We have for some time been expecting that the exportation of criminals would cease, but even were it to cease, it would be many years till society in New South Wales recover from the taint. This is the greatest barrier in the way of New South Wales and Tasmania being desirable emigration-fields.

Two colonies have more recently been established in Australia, the Western Australian or Swan River, and the South Australian: the first on the southwestern angle at Swan River, and the other in the hollow bight of the south coast opposite to and partly sheltered by Kangaroo Island, where several gulfs penetrate deep into the interior, and communicate with the great western river which flows from the back of the Blue Mountains in New South Wales. Both these colonies now give fair promise of success, and if they are not checked by some destructive visitation of drought, or gross mismanagement, there is no doubt of their progressive prosperity.

Swan River Colony, including the dependency to the south, enjoys a fine salubrious climate without any severe winter, but the quality of the soil near the coast is extremely poor and arid, while at the



same time the deficiency of harbours (several fine vessels have in consequence been lost) is a great check upon the advancement of the colony. From the position of Swan River, upon the west side of a continent, with the prevailing winds from the sea, one would expect that the climate would be moister than that of New South Wales. There does not, however, appear to be any material difference, excepting in not being so liable to such extremes of droughts and floodings as the eastern country. The absence of any high mountains, and having sea towards the pole, conduce to render the climate dry and temperate.

The first attempt to colonize at Swan River was extremely unprosperous from a variety of circumstances. The want of a harbour and the poverty of the soil, especially in the coast district where the colony commenced operations, were great impediments, but the cause of the comparative failure was the defective social organization. One great leader, land-owner, and capitalist, with numerous working people under a nominal contract of engagement to labour to him, but over whom he had no manner of control to keep them to their engagements, was a truly absurd scheme for a new country. Combined labour by servants is totally impracticable to any extent where land is of little or no value, and can only be obtained by absolute power or slavery (this subject will come to be treated of when we speak of New Zealand). As it was, the working people deserted their leader soon after landing, his stock was stolen or died, and his stores and implements rotted on the beach. After this had taken place, the work-



ing men, who had, in the interim, attempted squatting, but had been unsuccessful from a want of means, ignorance, and the poverty of the soil, returned to their leader and demanded employment and supplies, but which he no longer was in a condition to give, and it was with considerable difficulty that he escaped being hanged by these desperate work-people, in revenge for the failure which their own default had occasioned, but which being a necessary consequence of the circumstances, he was also faulty in not having foreseen.

Since the Peel escapade, the settlement, though for several years considered in a perishing condition, has of late begun to shew symptoms of decided improvement. The stock is increasing, the better land of the interior is being resorted to for tillage, the peculiarities of the climate are beginning to be understood, and knowledge and property accumulating, a state of society suited to circumstances is building up. The nature of the government, however (a Crown colony), and the population of the place, having no political power nor weight in council, will have an influence to deaden the energies of the settlement and prevent rapid improvement.

The colony of South Australia is not directly under the Crown, but is conducted by a commission appointed by Parliament. It is an attempt to colonize on the self-supporting principle, that is, without being any charge upon the revenue of the mother country. The sales of the land to emigrants of capital, at L.1 per acre, being appropriated to carry out labouring emigrants, and the revenue derived



from the import duties, to pay the governing expenses.

Should this scheme be found practicable,—that is, should it be found possible to conduct colonization without any charge upon the revenue of the mother country, the originator of the plan (I believe Mr Wakefield) deserves more highly of his country than any man now in existence. Much, no doubt, will depend upon the activity and judgment of the Commissioners, and upon their choice of colonial officers, and as far as the thing has proceeded, it seems to be conducted more after the fashion of the United States' economics, than the British, and the progress has been so rapid, although the first vessel only left England in 1836, that a population, by the last account, of upwards of five thousand persons were already at work, laying the foundation of what, in all probability, will be the future emporium of Australia,—the city of Adelaide. The only plague-spot upon all this fine display of popular vigour, is that they have commenced by borrowing funds to carry on operations at ten per cent. per annum interest, a debt due by the colony, and which, it may be apprehended, will accumulate at compound interest faster than the wealth of the colony, and swallow up all.

The features of the country,—the disposition of the mountains and rivers in Australia, are the counterpart of those of the United States; the Blue Mountains, about one hundred miles westward from the coast at Sydney, corresponding to the Alleghany, or United States' Blue Mountains, and the Lachlan and Macquarie or Murray, to the Ohio and Missis-



issippi; South Australia, answering to the lower part of the basin of the Mississippi, and the city of Adelaide to New Orleans, with this difference, that Adelaide appears to be a salubrious place, while New Orleans is the *wet grave*. There is this difference, however, in the rivers, that the Murray, about one thousand miles long, is navigable only by barges, and is almost dried up in the summer; while the Grand Mississippi is navigable by steamers of three hundred tons, at all seasons, for nearly three times that distance.

Excepting in the vicinity of the Gulf of St Vincent (where the South Australian colonists have commenced operations), and along the Murray, almost nothing is known of the portions of Australia, which goes to form the territory of South Australia. The district around the Gulf is comparatively a good sheep pasture country. There are several ranges of hills, the highest of which (Mount Lofty) is estimated to be 2400 feet above the sea, wooded on the top; but on the whole, the districts which have been explored, are low, at least not nearly so mountainous as New South Wales; and the absence of high mountains to act as attracters and condensers of rain, and as a source of never-failing streams, is a want which will balance the superior position of South Australia, in regard to exposure. The coast of South Australia stretches south-east, with sea to the south-west, from whence the prevailing winds blow (it is said for nine months in the year). This will afford a moist and cooler air immediately on the coast, rendering it a rather favourable field for British emigration, being suited



for a wool raising country, and perhaps even for the raising of grain and cotton, and other valuable products ; but from the absence of high land or mountains in the interior, from being surrounded on three sides by a great extent of hot arid continent, and from the sea being towards the pole, there is every reason to believe, that, excepting near the coast, there will be very little deposition of rain, as though the winds from the sea be charged with moisture almost to the dew point, yet by reaching a warmer locality in the interior, they will acquire greater power of suspending the moisture, and give out none. *A priori*, we should therefore expect the interior to be extremely arid, and only fitting for an emigration-field for the Bedouin Arab, with his camel support. Even the districts near the sea coast exhibit features of great aridity of climate ;—the forest cover not general, but only straggled over the country in the cooler localities, and where the soil is deepest, and most capable of withstanding drought ;—the character of the tree-leaves, and the thin tufted nature of the grasses ;—the streamlets and rivers from the hills losing themselves when they come to the low country in marshes and stagnant pools, and only reaching the sea in winter. All these are signs which cannot be mistaken. It is also a remarkable circumstance, that in these low flats, where marshes and stagnant pools abound, evaporating the whole product of rivers and streams under great heat, that there is no notice of remittent and intermittent fever. This anomaly can only be attributed to the dryness of the atmosphere, to the poverty of the soil not giving out putrescent



effluvia, and to the evaporating water containing very little of vegetable and animal products.

The south-east angle of Australia, lying south-east of South Australia, and bounded by Bass Straits on the south, which divides it from Tasmania, has been lately explored, and from the salubrity of the air, and fineness of the country, excelling every other part of Australia, has been named Australia Felix. This region, though not yet appropriated, is already being occupied by flocks, attracted by the fine pasture. The Tasmanians are exporting their flocks to it, across the Straits, and the New South Wales stock-owners are bearing down upon it with their flocks from the north. The Commissioners of South Australia seeing its value, have been endeavouring to get it placed under their South Australian government; but it being within the boundary of what is claimed to belong to the New South Wales government, the Commissioners have been unsuccessful. An individual from Tasmania has also been claiming a portion of it, from some alleged compact with a few straggling natives, but his pretences have not been listened to. Crown colonies, such as New South Wales, cannot work well when very extensive, and as well from the distance of Port Phillip or Western Port (the probable station of the future capital of Australia Felix) from Sydney, as from the convict nature of the New South Wales colony, it would be highly desirable that Australia Felix were formed into a colony by itself; perhaps under a plan similar to that of South Australia, but with this difference, that Government, at least, guarantee to the lender for any



loans that may be required under a certain sum, by which means funds could be obtained at less than one-half the interest paid for the South Australian loans; but guarding against what would be more than a counter-balancing evil,—Government influence paralyzing the energetic popular direction.

### *Tasmania.*

Tasmania, or Van Diemen's Land, is an island nearly the size of Ireland, about 120 miles south of Australia Felix, extending from 42° to 45° south latitude. It enjoys a very fine temperate climate, nearly similar to that of New Zealand, and totally different from the Australian. From its insularity and mountainous character, it has a sufficiency of rain to fit it for a grain-producing country, and it not only supplies its own consumpt of wheat, of a very fine quality, but exports considerable quantities to Sydney, and even some to Rio Janiero. The rugged and broken shores of Tasmania afford a number of good harbours; the coast is generally bold and mountainous and bleak, especially on the south and west sides, where some ridges rise to the height of 5000 feet. There is a depression along the middle of the island, commencing with the fine harbour firth and valley of the Derwent on the south-east coast, and running at first north-west, and then north, along the valley of the Derwent, which flows south-east, and then along the valley of the Tamar which flows north, till it meets the sea at the mouth of that river at Bass Straits. This depression, consisting of rich



level land, were the sea to have any considerable rise, would form a strait of upwards of 100 miles in length, dividing the island into two mountainous portions. It is chiefly in this protected low country, constituting the double basin of the Derwent and the Tamar, that the cultivation of wheat and potatoes is carried on ; the mountain districts on both sides, of inferior quality, being more suited for grazing.

The greater part of Tasmania is very thickly timbered with large tall trees (evergreens), some of them of extraordinary size. One is stated to have measured, when cut down, in length upwards of 150 feet of stem, clear of branches, and so thick that a common stage-coach could have been easily driven along the stem for this distance. The heavy nature of the forest, which covers nearly the whole face of the country, independent of the common agricultural work, causes the business of the Tasmanian husbandman to be attended with much hard labour, and the tenor of his life is as opposed as well may be to that of the lounging shepherd of Australia Felix, who has nought to do but “tend his flocks on green declivities,” and which must give rise to a very different condition of society in the neighbouring countries. The labour of the husbandman in Tasmania is, however, well compensated by the abundance and the greater security of the return. It is said that every fruit, and vegetable, and flower that thrives well in England, thrives better in Tasmania, while several, such as the grape, not productive in England, are very productive here. The clover and sown grasses, which are fully of as much consequence as fruits and flowers of any kind, are also grown in great per-



fection, and are very much superior to the native herbage in productiveness and nutritive power.

The summer heat in Tasmania, generally ranging about  $70^{\circ}$  during the day, is very seldom beyond what an inhabitant of the British Isles can support while at work without inconveniency. For a day or two, indeed, in a summer, when the wind blows strongly from the north-west, the Sirocco of Australia is felt, and the thermometer rises to  $100^{\circ}$ , or even a few degrees higher, causing considerable injury by blighting the grain crops, but the injury is neither of so frequent occurrence, nor near to the extent as in Australia. Although the summer's heat during the day is not generally beyond what is felt in the south of England, and the winter cold during the night never so great as to freeze the earth or water beyond what the sun during the following day is sufficient to thaw, yet there is considerably more difference between the temperature of the night and day than in Britain, which causes the evenings to feel very chilly, producing colds and rheumatisms in those who unguardedly expose themselves. But this is not peculiar to Tasmania, being merely a consequence of dry and transparent atmosphere :—where the air is moist and near the dew point, as is usual in Britain, the latent heat of the aqueous gas which condenses into dew, tempers the cold of radiation. The rationale of the rapid transition to great cold in the evening, and the great degree of cold at the dawn of day, remains however unexplained.

Some drawback to Tasmania as an emigration-field, in addition to its being a penal colony, is, that the greater portion of the good land, at least in the fine



central basin, is already appropriated, and the new comers can only purchase at a comparative high rate, or have their location in the inferior part of the country. But the advantage resulting from a more condensed, mutually-assisting population, may overbalance the greater cost of the land.

In all the British emigration-fields we have treated of, North America, the Cape, Australia, Tasmania, there is some drawback in the number of poisonous reptilia and insects. Children are not entirely safe playing in the brakes; no person can sit down upon a grassy seat, or recline on a flowery bed, without some dread of the deadly snake or the scorpion. Serious accidents are occurring at all these places from these pests; and owing to their great prolific powers, their extirpation cannot be effected, at least while the country remains uncleared. In Australia, a dog who is a snake-hunter (which some of them are) has a short life. The pigs are found to be the best extirpators, their thick skin either protects them, or the exterior layer of oily fat neutralizes the poison, and they grub out from their lurking places, and devour the most venomous serpents with great alacrity. The great number of serpents are very destructive to the small singing birds, not only catching them on the perch, but devouring their nestlings, as well upon the trees as on the ground; and as a provision for their protection, the birds who are not large enough to give battle, form pendulous nests attached to the tips of the branches where no snake can reach. It is, therefore, not probable that the sky-lark and linnet, and other beautiful songsters of Britain, can be successfully introduced into these serpent-abound-



ing countries, as it is not likely they would adopt this provision for the security of their nestlings,—a loss, as the melody of the sky and grove of Britain is wanting there. It is a curious fact that serpents are not found in New Zealand, and the melody of the grove at break of day is described to be altogether enchanting. Can it be that the birds of lengthened steady song are not so common in the serpent-abounding countries, because their note and melody attract these destroyers, while those which only give out sudden discordant sounds, as they leap from bough to bough, are comparatively safe?

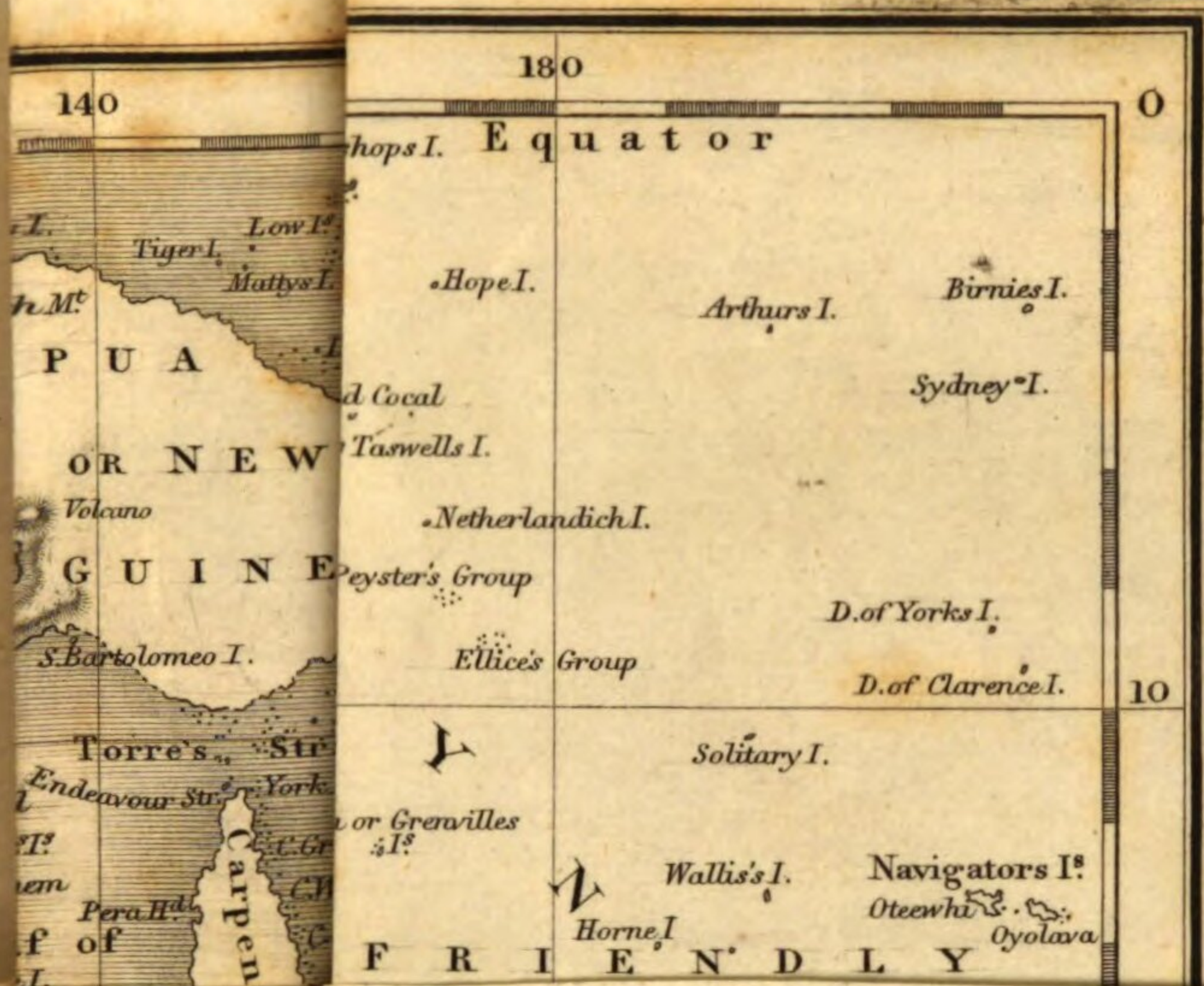


## CHAPTER VIII.

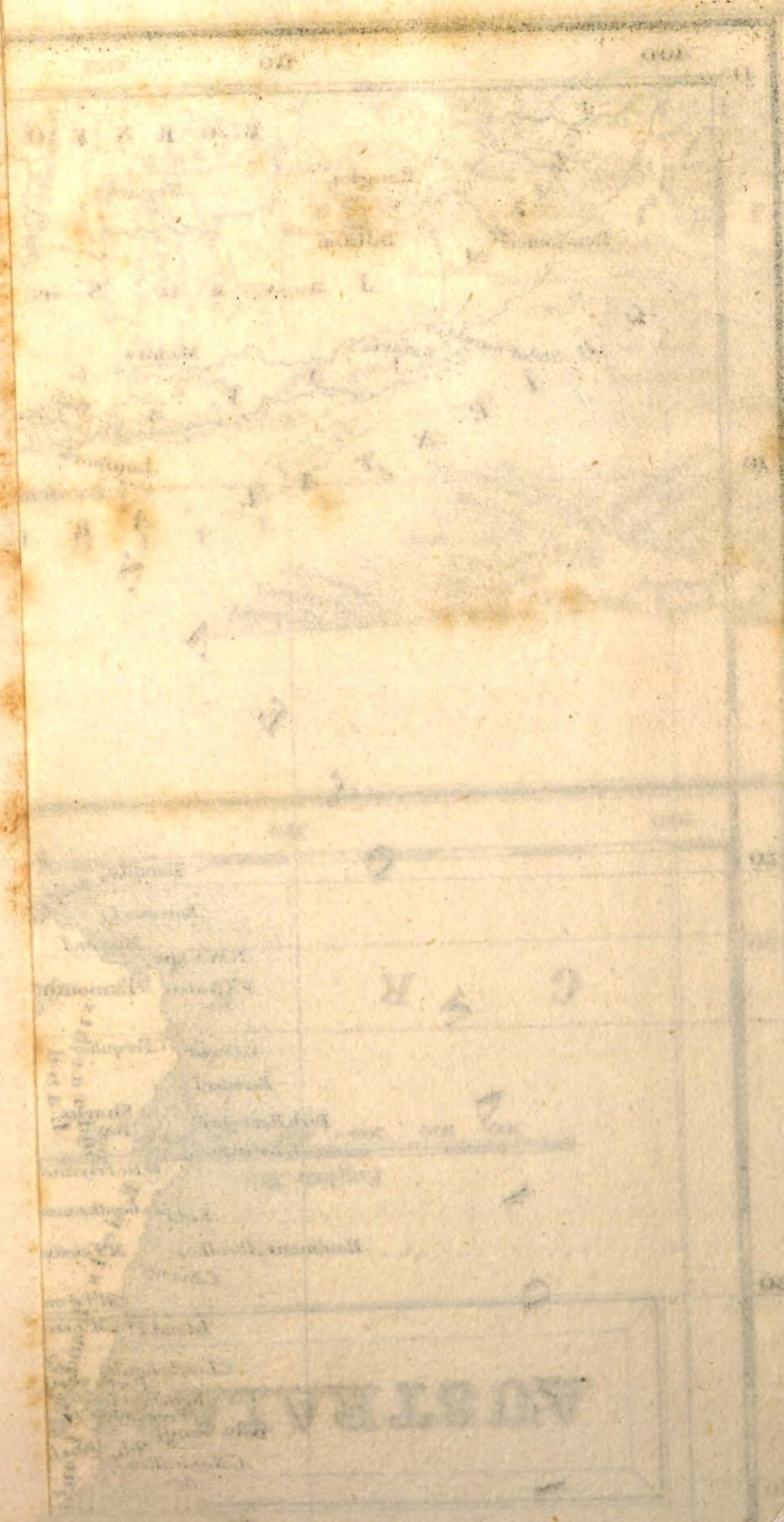
NEW ZEALAND — ITS CAPABILITIES FOR BECOMING  
THE NAVAL EMPORIUM OF THE SOUTHERN HEMI-  
SPHERE AND OF THE PACIFIC UNDER BRITISH  
COLONIZATION.

Estimating the advantages of position, extent, climate, fertility, adaptation for trade—all the causes which have tended to render Britain the emporium of the world, we can observe only one other spot on the earth equally, if not more favoured by nature, and that is New Zealand. Serrated with harbours, securely insulated, having a climate tempered by surrounding ocean, of such extent and fertility as to support a population sufficiently numerous to defend its shores against any possible invading force, it, like Great Britain, also possesses a large neighbouring continent (Australia), from which it will draw resources, and to which it bears the relation of a rich homestead, with a vast extent of out-field pasturage. In these advantages, it equals Britain, while it is superior to Britain in having the weather-gage of an immense commercial field,—the innumerable rich islands of the Pacific,—the gold and silver producing countries of Western America (by far the richest in the precious metals of any of











the world),—the vast accumulations of man in China and Japan,—all these lie within a few weeks' sail.

The south temperate zone, from the excess of ocean, has a much more equable temperature throughout the year than the north. New Zealand, considering its territorial extent, participates in this oceanic equality in an extraordinary degree, by reason of its insularity and oblong narrow figure, stretching across the course of the prevalent winds from lat.  $34^{\circ}$  to  $48^{\circ}$  south,—the most enviable of latitudes. On this account, it enjoys a finer, more temperate climate than any other region of the world;\* and, in consequence, the trees, from the principle of adaptation, are only biennially deciduous, and present, as well as the herbage, a never-failing verdure. The great mountain chain, or back-bone ridge of New Zealand, which extends through nearly fourteen degrees of latitude, attracting and condensing the high-towering clouds and vapour of the Southern Ocean, affords a constant source of showers and irrigation and freshness to the lower country; and this regular

\* There is also another reason why a place in the south temperate zone is of more equable temperature than a place of the same medium temperature in the north temperate zone. The south hemisphere is colder than the north by about  $7^{\circ}$  of latitude, lat.  $43^{\circ}$  south being nearly of the same medium temperature as lat.  $50^{\circ}$  north. Now, as we approach the equator, summer and winter approximate in temperature; lat.  $43^{\circ}$  has less difference between the longest and shortest day than lat.  $50^{\circ}$ , and consequently there is less difference between the temperature of summer and winter in lat.  $43^{\circ}$  south, than in lat.  $50^{\circ}$  north, the medium temperature being the same. The difference between the time the sun is above the horizon in summer and winter in lat.  $43^{\circ}$  is only about 6 hours, while in lat.  $50^{\circ}$  the difference is more than 8 hours.



supply of moisture, under the most balmy atmosphere, and the generative influence of a sun brilliant as that of Italy, produces an exuberance of vegetation surpassing that of any other temperate country,—the richness and magnificence of the forest scenery being only equalled by that of the islands of the eastern tropical Archipelago;\* and the mountains themselves, the sublime southern Alps, more elevated than the highest of the Alps of Switzerland, upheaved, from the depths of the great south sea, in some places to more than three miles of altitude, and, from their volcanic character, of the boldest, most abrupt outline, are perhaps unequalled in all the world. The character of surrounding objects must exert a powerful influence upon the genius of a people. These stupendous mountains, with innumerable rills pouring down their verdant slopes,—their great valleys, occupied by the most beautiful rivers,—their feet washed by the ceaseless south-sea swell,—their flanks clothed with the grandest of primeval forests,—their bosoms veiled in cloud,—and their rocky and icy scalps piercing the clear azure heaven,—must go to stamp, as far as earthly things can have impression, a poetical character upon the genius of the Austral British. The small portion of New Zealand already under cultivation, yields, in luxuriant abundance and perfection, all the valuable fruits and grain of Europe; and, unlike Canada (where the husbandman

\* “It is a most beautiful country. I have visited the Brazils, the whole of Van Diemen’s Land, and New South Wales, and been on the Continent, but I never saw a country in the world that equalled it (New Zealand). In scenery, climate, and productiveness, it is a perfect paradise.”—(See T. B. Montefiore, Parliamentary Evidence, 1838.)



has to endure life-consuming toil in the very hot enervating summer, to lay up provender for the subsistence of all his bestial during the long and rigorous winter), stock of all descriptions fatten in this favoured region, at all seasons, upon the spontaneous produce of the wilderness.\* The climate is also the most favourable to the development of the human species,† producing a race of natives of surpassing strength and energy. From the mountainous interior, the country is, in a wonderful degree, permeated by never-failing streams and rivers of the purest water, affording innumerable falls, suited to machinery, adjacent to the finest harbours. The forests abound in timber of gigantic size, peculiarly adapted for naval purposes and for house-building, and, from its mild workable quality, much more economically convertible and serviceable than the timber of any other country in the southern hemisphere; most of which, from extreme hardness, is almost unmanage-

\* The missionaries have been sojourning in New Zealand for the last twenty-three years. They, with their families, amount to upwards of ninety individuals, and, with the exception of infants, only one death (it is said) has occurred amongst them. In this country, according to the Rev. W. Yate, "invalids become well, the healthy robust, and the robust fat. It has a perpetual spring, the whole atmosphere seems impregnated with perfumes, and every breath inhaled stimulates the system, and strengthens man for the labour which may lie before him. I am persuaded (says he), that all graminivorous animals, wild or domestic, would thrive well in this temperate clime, if allowed to range at large in the forests, on the hills, in the valleys, or on the plains."—(See Appendix, Note C.)

† "Marriages among the English have been prolific, in a very extraordinary degree, of a most healthy progeny."—(See official document by T. Busby, Esq. British Resident.)



able.\* Millions of acres, it is said, are covered with the famed New Zealand flax (the great value of which is now coming to be appreciated); and around the shores are the most valuable fisheries, from the mackerel to the whale; in the pursuit of which latter, many of our vessels resort, though at the other extremity of the earth. Combining all these natural internal advantages with the most favoured position for trade, New Zealand must ultimately reign the Maritime Queen of the South-eastern hemisphere.

Estimating these surpassing natural advantages in their peculiar adaptation to the energetic maritime British race, it is somewhat remarkable that no regular attempt has been made by Britain to colonize New Zealand. This must have arisen from the numbers and barbarous character of the native population; a population so small, however, reduced as it now is, as to be quite out of all proportion to the extent of territory, and which exists only around some of the sheltered bays of the coast, and in a few of the rich valleys of the interior. According to Mr Yate, and the other missionaries who have had the best means of estimating their numbers, the whole amount may be about 110,000. Another writer states: "The inhabitants, in fact, have not, in any

\* "There is a great variety of timber in the country fit for all purposes, as for shipbuilding, domestic, and other purposes. The forests of New Zealand afford perhaps the finest spars for masts and yards in the world, and which are extremely valuable. In India, the wood being there very heavy, they cannot get any description of wood to make good spars, and those taken from New Zealand find there a ready sale."—(See J. L. Nicholas Esq., Par. Evidence.)



sense of the word, taken possession of the country which they call their own. It is still the undivided domain of nature, and they are merely a handful of stragglers who wander about the outskirts." Thus, densely populated Britain, with the means of effectual relief, is allowed to remain writhing under the preventive and destructive checks, while a region, the finest in the world,—a region which, beyond all others, can lay claim to the name of PARADISE, is lying an untenanted wilderness.\*

\* Mr Flatt, an agriculturist from the East of England, of considerable professional and general knowledge, and who has lately returned from New Zealand, where he had been remaining several years, informs the Author, that in crossing the North Island, he travelled along a tract of fine alluvial soil in the lower valley of the Waikato rivers, equal in extent, but richer, than the alluvial level between Cambridge and Hull,—the kernel of England. Mr Flatt also corroborates the statements of others respecting the salubrity, mildness, and beauty of the climate,—that it is a land of sunny-showers, and that in the case of heavy rains, the clouds clear off immediately when the rain ceases, and a most brilliant sun shines out.



## CHAPTER IX.

## ESPECIAL REASONS FOR COLONIZING NEW ZEALAND.

Independent of the natural peculiar adaptation of New Zealand for a British colony, there are several very cogent reasons to induce Britain to occupy this country without a moment's delay.

## I.

*Importance of New Zealand, politically and commercially, to Britain.*

In the present posture of affairs, when Russia and the United States are gradually extending their territory, increasing their means, and preparing for, or at least looking forward to, a contest with Britain for the naval supremacy, it is for us to look around over earth and ocean, and to pre-occupy, if possible, every favourable position.

In glancing at the map of the eastern hemisphere, where, from the extending territorial possessions of Russia, and the great and rapidly increasing trade of the United States, as well as of Britain, a considerable part of the contest may be expected to be carried on, any one must remark the commanding position of New Zealand,—with innumerable harbours, with vast naval resources, standing forth like an extended rampart in advance of, and covering our wide Australian possessions, and having the whole of the Pacific under its lee. In marking these advantages,



one is disposed to inquire,—Has Britain not stirred to secure this most important position, in reference to curbing the United States\* and Russia in the East,—this most invaluable acquisition in reference to augmenting our trade and resources? Has she not conciliated the natives, who are a warlike maritime race, capable of forming excellent seamen and shipwrights, and as such would be most valuable auxiliaries?†

\* It is exceedingly to be regretted that opposing interests and feelings should divide the two British empires—that one of British race should have to speak of curbing the power of the United States. The causes which tend to disunion, it is to be hoped, will soon be removed. The United States will abolish slavery, and Britain will throw off aristocratical domination. The two nations will then unite in friendly league, “like sister-streams, which some rude interposing rock has split.”

† “We find the New Zealanders in our service behave much better than the British seamen; we have invariably found them well-behaved good seamen. I am sorry I cannot say the same of the British in all cases.”—(See T. B. Montefiore, Esq., Par. Evidence.)

“There is no nation more intelligent on land or any other subject. As a proof of this, there is at the present moment sailing out of Sydney a Mr Bailey (New Zealander), chief officer of the Earl Stanhope whale-ship, and, if he had not been a foreigner, he would long since have had command of the vessel. There are, at the present moment, sailing on the Pacific Ocean, ships with cargoes worth from L.20,000 and upwards steered by New Zealanders day and night. Where they had an opportunity of being instructed, they had shewn great ability. Their farms had astonished every stranger. Every one is surprised at seeing the beauty of their land, the weeding of it, and the regularity of every thing.”—(See C. Enderby, Esq. Par. Evid.)

“As farm-servants they are admirable; and if the place is colonized, no people will become better farm-servants than the New Zealanders.”—“Are they clever?”—“Yes; with just the head-piece of Europeans, and just the tact of doing any thing; the most imitating people in the world.”—(Mr J. S. Polack, Par. Evidence.)



Has she not erected forts at the Bay of Islands and in Cook's Straits, under whose guns our numerous South Sea whalers and our Australian traders (they pass New Zealand homeward) could take shelter in case of hostilities? She has done nothing of all this. She has only thought of a plan to afford her a pretence for preventing others (on the dog-in-the-manger principle) from colonizing this valuable country. She has sent out one solitary Resident, and made some sort of an acknowledgment of a New Zealand flag.\*

## II.

*Importance of New Zealand as a resource for provisioning Australia in time of extreme droughts, and generally as the granary of New South Wales.†*

Another reason for the friendly occupation of New Zealand in provident policy, scarcely second to the

\* A proclamation, it is true, was some time past issued by our Governor of New South Wales, laying claim to the New Zealand group; but this proclamation has not been confirmed by any act of occupancy. It is said that France has remonstrated against the occupancy by Britain of the southern island,—on what just plea it would be a little difficult to point out. France has the occupancy of North Africa on her hands; and the invasion of Spain by the Duke D'Angouleme, to account for which as caused the loss of at least a million of human beings to Spain, and considerable expense of blood and treasure to Britain.

† It would be judicious to have a provision supply for New South Wales at no great distance. The fact that all the indigenous mammalia in New Holland, with the exception of man, are of the order Marsupialia, and that man himself (here a miserable starved wanderer), though not marsupial, has also a facility of removing his young progeny, is rather startling. We



first, has, I believe, never been taken into view. From the unsteady climate and extreme droughts of our colonies in New Holland, they, as they become more populous, will be periodically subjected to destructive famine, unless some neighbouring country, whose climate does not partake of the same vicissitudes, can afford them supplies. Excepting New Zealand, the distance to other countries from whence sufficient supplies could be obtained is so great, that extreme horrors of famine might be experienced before intelligence of their wants could go out, and supplies back could reach them. The drought three years ago raised wheat from 40s. to 160s. per quarter at Sydney, and small quantities of potatoes and Indian corn were imported from New Zealand, where a number of British, attracted by the fineness of the climate and country, have attempted settlements. Such, however, is the insecurity of property in the absence of all law, that several of the settlers, after never see a provision of nature without a sufficient reason. The marsupials seem lower in the scale of animals than the other mammalia, and calculated to endure greater extremes of climate, and they appear to have existed at an era when the condition of this planet was yet too unstable throughout to suit the higher mammalia. We are warranted in attributing the present absence of the higher mammalia in New Holland (organic remains prove they have once existed) to the periodic extreme droughts, to which this country has become liable, having caused their destruction, or should their removal have been otherwise caused, preventing their new distribution; and it seems highly probable that the pouch for receiving the young of the indigenous mammalia is a necessary circumstantial adaptation, that they may remove their young when they migrate in time of the extreme droughts in search of water and subsistence. The character of the vegetation (different from that of other regions), with leaves so peculiarly fitted for absorbing moisture from the atmosphere, and withstanding drought, also merits attention.



being stripped and abused, have been obliged to abandon the attempt, and the industry of the country, British as well as native, has been turned chiefly to the supply of timber, which does not encourage depredation so much as agriculture. At any rate, no quantity of food of any moment in provisioning New South Wales can be supplied unless security be afforded that man shall reap what he sows, which nothing but the occupation by a British force can accomplish. From the adaptation of New South Wales for producing wool, and the superior adaptation of New Zealand for producing grain, and other vegetable food, much of the vegetable food supply of New South Wales would at all times be derived from New Zealand, as it would be most profitable for New South Wales to raise wool, and import grain and other vegetable food. Emigrants would flock for New Zealand in thousands were a secure footing once established, and a judicious plan of land sales adopted; and the sooner this is done the better; the longer it is delayed the greater is the probability that Russia or the United States may remonstrate. At present the former is driving civilized life, and the latter savage life, before it, and neither could have reason to complain of us.

### III.

*Importance of New Zealand as the Head-quarters of the South Sea Whale-fishery; that its occupation would procure to Britain a monopoly, to a certain extent, of this branch of industry.*

There is yet another pressing motive for the immediate occupation of New Zealand. No other



branch of maritime industry has increased so much of late years as the Southern Whale-fishery. This has arisen partly from the recent development of the business itself, and partly from the failure of the Northern Whale-fishery. From the general resort of the southern whalers to the shores of the New Zealand group, in whose firths and bays much of the fishery is carried on, there can be no doubt it is fitted beyond any other place for the seat of this trade. There are at present 15,000 seamen and 150,000 tons of shipping engaged in it. An economic alteration in the conducting of the fishery is now in progress. Instead of vessels proceeding on a tedious three years' voyage from the United States or Britain, the fishery is now, to a considerable extent, being carried on by boats or small vessels constantly employed in the business (bay fishing), and the prepared oil conveyed to Europe and other markets in common merchantmen. Nearly three-fourths of the fishing is now in the hands of the United States, and a little less than one-fourth British. But were the occupation of the whole of the New Zealand group to take place, there is no doubt, from the superior cheapness and conveniency with which the fishery could be carried on by the New Zealand British, that the greater part of it would soon be in British hands. It would afford a rich field for the enterprise of the colonists and native New Zealanders, to whose character and maritime habits this employment is peculiarly suited; and it is incomparably the best training for maritime war. The policy of immediately occupying New Zealand in reference to this most important object is manifest.



## IV.

*Philanthropic reason why New Zealand should be colonized in preference to every other country.*

In a philanthropic point of view, New Zealand is a most eligible field for colonization. It is perhaps the sole instance, at least the most striking instance, of a thin or scattered population which would not necessarily suffer, but might greatly benefit by the immigration of Europeans into their country. The aborigines of the greater part of America and of New Holland are, or, when in existence, were, *hunters*, subsisting upon the *feræ naturæ*. From long-continued use, constituting instinctive habit of race, they had themselves become, or were, in a manner, *feræ naturæ*, altogether incapable of, or extremely inapt to, agricultural labour and fixed residence, at least without a very gradual change of habit extending to several generations. As these hunters, in their pristine state, have their numbers balanced to the hunter means of subsistence which the whole country produces, the entrance of the civilized races, occupying a portion of their territory, not only abridges their hunting-grounds, but also by the employment of fire-arms speedily diminishes the game in the adjacent territory. Thence, if the hunter-aborigines do not fall by the musket of the stranger, they are forced by famine to invade the hunting-grounds of the neighbouring tribes, and war ensues. Thus the aboriginal race is gradually extirpated by slaughter and famine, assisted by the new diseases and intoxicating



poisons of the stranger. (See Appendix, Note D.) Much the same takes place with nomadic nations,—tribes subsisting principally by flocks and herds,—such as the Hottentot and Caffre of South Africa, who are also already, or at least were, balanced in numbers to the means of their *pastoral* subsistence. These, when encroached upon by and forced to retreat before the fire-armed European, have not space left for the support of their herds. They are driven by necessity to trespass in search of pasture upon their neighbour's territory, and exterminating war is the result. (See Appendix, Note E.) On the other hand, the New Zealanders, in a country, although so rich in vegetation, almost destitute of game, and without herds of any kind, have been accustomed to raise their food with the exception of fish, by agricultural labour (either by digging for roots, or digging to produce roots);\* and, instead of being peopled up to the means of subsistence obtainable by agriculture, do not reach the one-hundredth part, their numbers having been kept down apparently by their ferocity and by anarchy. The entrance of Europeans in a friendly manner (such as is here proposed) affording them protection to person and property, domestic animals, better implements of husbandry, more valuable fruit-bearing trees and edible plants, all the advantages and comforts of civilization, which tend so much to the increase of population, and which they,

\* “They are very industrious cultivators for savages. I should say they are an industrious people. Their plantations of the common potato and the sweet potato are cultivated with great care; indeed, there is not a weed to be seen in them. I have seen between twenty and thirty acres in one place enclosed and cultivated; their principal food, however, is the fern root.”—(See J. L. Nicholas, Esq., Par. Evidence.)



from their character and previous habits, appear capable of receiving and benefiting by, must, instead of operating to their injury or destruction, prove to them the greatest blessing.

In the case of the scant-peopling hunter, the imperative necessity of an overflowing population, such as that of Britain, is a justifiable reason for breaking up his preserves. In the case of the pastoral people of South Africa, it is unjustifiable to invade their territory and disturb their quiet feeding herds, at least while any part of the world available for British emigration remains under the hunter occupancy. But in such an anomalous case as New Zealand, where a very scant agricultural population occupy a few straggling districts of an extensive country, with the exception of these petty districts, to them entirely useless, and which, from defects in the social order and other circumstances, they are not only totally unfitted for populating, but are even fast decreasing in numbers; and where a steady general government introduced by the emigrants would, in all probability, remedy the consuming evils under which the race is disappearing,—it is here, if we are at all to be guided by reason, humanity, justice,—it is surely here where we ought to locate our overflowing population. In the case of a region only inhabited by a few scattered barbarous tribes, totally incapable of instituting any responsible government, and where in consequence the country and adjacent sea are infested with lawless bands of robbers and pirates, any nation which possesses the power has a right to interfere, establish a government, and colonize,—surely much more so in the case of New Zealand by Britain than in the case of Florida by the United States.



## V.

*The occupation of New Zealand the duty of Great Britain, in humanity to the Native Tribes, and for the protection of British Settlers.*

Independent of the foregoing reasons for establishing a British Government in New Zealand, there are other sufficient motives. Independently even of the pacification and civilization of the native tribes, the protection of British subjects, who, to the amount (it is said) of 2000, are already located in the country, is a sufficient reason for the interference of Britain. These settlers are living without law, exposed to all the evils of anarchy; the natives are incapable of instituting or conducting a government, and the settlers and their countrymen, who only are capable of doing so, have the right of *necessity* to do so. From the state of barbarism, and the difficulty of communication in so rugged and extensive a country, it is impossible that any general or presiding native government could exist.\* The population are divided into numerous tribes, who do not intermarry, and who are involved in perpetual hostilities, kept up by the savage

\* "Your petitioners would observe, that it has been considered that the confederate tribes of New Zealand were competent to enact laws for the proper government of this land, whereby protection would be afforded in all cases of necessity; but experience evidently shews that, in the infant state of the country, this cannot be accomplished or expected. It is acknowledged by the chiefs themselves to be impracticable."—(See petition of the British Settlers in New Zealand to his late Majesty.)



principle of honour—*revenge*. Although grouped in tribes and acting gregariously under particular leaders against their enemies, and frequently holding solemn feasts and deliberative meetings, and although certain laws, or rather customs and forms, meet with superstitious observance, yet there is little internal government or protective law among the members of each particular tribe. There is no sufficient controlling authority, elective or hereditary,\* and little habitual or moral restraint beyond the result of common sympathy with more immediate connections, to prevent the strong from preying upon the weak : Each chief, that is every one who is not a slave, does what he pleases, or rather what he is able to do ; while the crafty avail themselves of a horrible superstition, worked by subtle priests to sacrifice obnoxious individuals, and effect their ends. The condition of the slaves, chiefly those captured in war, is deplorable in the extreme ; the male part not being allowed to marry, and both males and females liable, upon the least passion or caprice, to be killed and devoured.† The

\* “ In truth, the New Zealand chief has neither rank nor authority, but that every person above the condition of a slave, and, indeed, the most of them, may despise and resist with impunity.”—(See Official Documents, by T. Busby, Esq., Resident). The want of government,—the incapacity of mankind, in a state of barbarism, to establish a presiding general government, has greatly conduced to the establishment of slavery.

† It is no uncommon thing for these (the slaves) to be butchered and eaten to gratify the diabolical passions of their ungodly masters, or to appease the anger of some departed relative ; who, they fear, will come and destroy them if his anger be not appeased. They that have eaten human flesh are considered as deities while they are alive, and by the name of Atua (God) they are often addressed ; and even the body itself, when the spirit



general possession of war canoes, and the facility, by means of them, of making predatory attacks upon distant tribes, in the manner of the former sea-rover of Scandinavia, has also contributed to reduce them to the wildest state of ferocious barbarism.

Although the value of New Zealand has been known since its first formal occupation and survey by Captain Cook, and colonies established in the neighbouring islands in situations incomparably inferior, yet a backwardness has existed on the part of our Government to colonize this group, perhaps from the difficulties in the way,—the ferocity, and comparatively denser population of the aborigines. A fear has also been expressed, that these tribes, under colonization, might dwindle and become extinct, as has sometimes occurred. It, however, appears that the New Zealand tribes are fast decreasing in numbers under the present intercourse with Europeans; that many places, a few years ago comparatively populous, are now absolutely desolate, and that all the evils incident upon European connection, are already in operation, without being counterbalanced by the great advantages which a more intimate connection with Britain, a strong general government, and the firm administration of just and benignant laws, would afford.

is fled, is called Atua; so that, according to their view, they are themselves deified, body and soul, dead and alive. When any are afflicted among them, they say that the Atua has got within and is eating him; and in this way, according to their view, all their afflictions and deaths are brought about. When they die they tell us that their left eye becomes a star; the bright ones are those of great men, the dim ones that of slaves."—See D. Coates, Esq., and Rev. J. Beecham, Par. Evidence.)



The decrease of population now going on, arises from a variety of causes ;—the introduction of new diseases ; more destructive arms, and the disturbance of the balance of power amongst the tribes, from the acquisition of muskets by those more immediately in contact with the strangers, the desire to prove the new admired weapons giving a stimulus to their native warlike propensities. A stronger motive also exists for making kidnapping inroads to obtain slaves to carry on the manufacture of flax and the cutting of spars to barter for spirits, blankets, muskets, ammunition, tobacco. Besides, almost every original moral or conventional idea, every useful social principle of government or restraint that may have existed, is being unhinged by their intercourse with the numerous dissolute sailors, and the convicts from New South Wales at large amongst them ;\* and even by the benevolent efforts of the Christian missions ; the general use of tobacco, encouraged by the missionaries (See appendix F) as a sedative, and the spirituous liquors, introduced by a number of abandoned settlers (often emancipists or convicts), combining to brutalize all who come within their action. In fine, the seeds of destruction have been sown, the poison

\* “Numberless robberies have been committed on shipboard and on shore, by a lawless band of Europeans, who have not scrupled to use fire-arms to support them in their depredations.

“Your petitioners express with concern their conviction that unless your Majesty’s fostering care be extended towards them, they can only anticipate that both your Majesty’s subjects, and also the aborigines, will be liable, in an increased degree, to murders, robberies, and every kind of evil.”—(See petition to His late Majesty from British Settlers in New Zealand, including the Missionaries.)



has been generally disseminated by us, and no antidote, that in the estimation of any practical man can have a chance of success, has been applied.\*

Something has been done in one or two narrow districts. Much is expected to be done by the labours of the Christian missions; but, however valuable they may be as an accessory, there is little probability, taking into consideration the contaminating influence of the numerous dissolute refugees and foreign shipping, that Protestant missionaries can effect any general reformation without assistance,—can of themselves ever succeed in combining, under one steady government, these independent hordes of savages, separated by natural obstacles and hereditary feuds;† at least Europe and America afford no examples of such results. Besides, the social condition of the New Zealanders is actually retrograding,—more injury resulting from the contamination of the turbulent and dissolute crews of whaling vessels and roaming sailors, convicts and emancipists, than counterbalances the benefit derived from the Christian missions. The plain fact is, that unregulated

\* “Unless the country should be taken under the efficient protection of Great Britain, or some other foreign power should interfere, the natives will go on destroying each other, and the British will continue to suffer the accumulated evils of a permanent anarchy.”—Even the very children who are reared under the care of the missionaries, are swept off in a ratio which promises, at no very distant period, to leave the country desolate of a single inhabitant.” (See official document, by T. Busby, Esq., resident.)

† Were the missionaries left entirely to themselves, without other European settlers, or visits of shipping, it is probable they might succeed in making converts of the natives, in mitigating their ferocity, and in establishing some sort of order.



colonization is going on in the worst manner, and chiefly by the worst characters ; whereas, by the proper intervention of British authority, colonization would be carried on in the best manner, and by people of the best character ;—that government, as a prevention of crime, is entirely wanting,—anarchy universal,—distrust, envy, and rancorous malignity, in place of good neighbourhood ; that stripping, kidnapping, murdering parties, roam every where ; that the evils—the worst evils incident upon European intercourse, are in full operation : and that it is impossible to effect any good but by bringing the separate tribes and marauding chiefs, and dissolute settlers, under one subjection to a presiding British government. It is in having paved the way to the peaceful accomplishment of this, that the labour of those truly brave men, the New Zealand missionaries, is valuable. They have proved to the New Zealanders, by their example, that the British, of a certain class, may be trusted ; that they may confide themselves to their protection, secure that no dishonest advantage will be taken of their confidence ; and the best informed amongst the natives must see, that to do so is their true interest. That Britain ought to grant them this protection, admits of no doubt : our intercourse has brought those evils upon them. That it is our especial interest to do so, is equally evident. A firm and friendly union between the British and New Zealanders would soon raise these islands, supported by the immense though inferior territory of Australia, to a pitch of prosperity, which would render them supreme in the Pacific ; and the amalgamation of the two races (British and New Zealand), the



one the foremost in civilized life, and the other in savage life, or natural stamina,\* like engrafting the finest varieties of fruits upon the purest crab, may be expected to produce a people superior in physical and moral energy to all others.†

No greater proof could be afforded of the extreme adaptation of New Zealand for a British colony, than the fact, that about 2000 British have already located themselves in this fine country, notwithstanding all the dangers which surround them. When such a number of British subjects are thus exposed to insult, outrage, murder, and the natives, even in a greater degree, suffering under these accumulated evils,—evils which a presiding British government is the only means of remedying or alleviating,—it is surely morally imperative upon the British Govern-

\* “ I cannot repress a feeling of deep regret that so fine and intelligent a race of human beings should, in the present state of general civilization, be found in barbarism ; for there is not on earth a people more susceptible of high intellectual attainments, or more capable of becoming a useful and industrious race under a wise government. At present, notwithstanding their formal declaration of independence, they have not, in fact, any government whatever.”—“ That their wars, which are fast depopulating this beautiful country, may sooner or later be extended to our countrymen, is a circumstance which it would be rashness to doubt.”—“ It becomes, therefore, a solemn duty, both in justice to the better class of our fellow-subjects and to the natives themselves, to apply a remedy to the growing evil.” (See Official Document, Letter of Captain W. Hobson, R. N.)—“ The New Zealanders are a noble race of men ; they have a body much stronger than that of Englishmen in general, and a mind in no way inferior, did they only enjoy equal privileges.” (D. Coates, Esq. Par. evidence.)

† The amalgamated race is springing up in Sydney, where a number of British masters of vessels, who trade in those seas, keep New Zealand wives.



ment to afford protection, more especially when the doing so would, at the same time, be a means of putting an end to those most horrible practices,—of effacing those dark stains from humanity, the existence of which, not many years ago, only the credulous could believe possible. It is an indubitable fact, that such a combination of malign circumstances, consisting of convict disposition to crime, sailor dissoluteness, savage barbarity, never before were conjoined in any country in any age, all crying out to Britain for protective law.



## CHAPTER X.

## PREFATORY OBSERVATIONS TO A PLAN FOR COLONIZING NEW ZEALAND, WITH PROPOSALS OF A PEACE-CORPS.

Having demonstrated that the immediate colonization of New Zealand is alike our best policy and our moral duty, the means of accomplishment fall next to be considered.

Colonization is comparatively a simple matter, when few aborigines are in the way, or when they are to be swept down without compunction, as the incumbering trees of the forest, or reduced to slavery, and made subservient to the progress of the settlement. But in carrying successfully into execution the colonization of such a country as New Zealand, under regulation of the strictest justice and humanity, a methodical system of proceeding must be previously arranged,—a strong moral and physical force will require to be employed,—and a considerably greater cost will necessarily be at first incurred, than would be under other circumstances. An important question arises, Whether the colonization should be conducted by Government directly (a Crown colony)?—Or whether it should be conducted by the settlers themselves, acting under the direction of a board or



corporation, resident in London, similar to the South Australian plan?—Whether the funds necessary for the expedition and the future government are to be voted by the British Legislature, or obtained by loan raised on the security of the proceeds of the customs and land sales of the colony?

Were the colonization of New Zealand as simple an affair as that of South Australia; were no obstruction in the way to prevent the regular process of taking possession of the land, and disposing of it in allotments at a fixed price; had the emigrants, upon arrival, only to set about their agricultural operations in quiet security; were no considerable moral, military, and naval force necessary to protect them from a most barbarous and turbulent native population; were New Zealand not so very important a position in reference to the command of the Pacific, to the South Sea Fishery, and even to the naval supremacy of Britain; were its supply not so necessary as a preventive of famine in New South Wales, and in affording cordage and spars to our shipping; did New Zealand only stand to us in the relation of an available field, like South Australia, for planting our redundant population upon;—then, perhaps, it might be as well to leave the colonization to be conducted on the South Australian plan. But, estimating the vast importance it bears, politically, commercially, and providently; keeping in view the difficulty of the undertaking, where civilized men must be brought to act in harmony with savages; taking also into account that several strong forts would require to be erected as *points d'appui* to the settlers, and as a protection against foreign attack in case of war; and moreover, consider-



ing the magnitude of the scale on which things would require to be conducted, so as to render success not only not contingent, but so great as give an immediate political weight to the colony, I think there can be only one opinion respecting the mode of operation—that the colonization should be conducted by the Government, and that the cost of the naval and military force, of the defensive erections, and of the educational and protective establishments for the natives, should be borne by Great Britain. The plan of colonizing which was proposed for New Zealand by the New Zealand Association, was similar to that which has been followed in South Australia—to commence by a loan raised on the security of the proceeds of the customs and land sales. As all the funds derivable from the latter are only the difference of first-cost from the natives, and subsequent sale to the settlers, no loan on these securities could be *advantageously* obtained, sufficient in amount to carry on the grand work, unless Government guarantee to the lender. This plan, embracing the borrowing of funds at 10 per cent. interest, would never have been thought of for New Zealand *primarily*. It was adopted by the New Zealand Association on the principle of imitation, from that of South Australia, without a sufficient consideration of the difference of circumstances. Had the colonization been conducted on the South Australian plan, the probability is, that, from a deficiency of moral and physical force, it would have been attended with difficulties and disasters of such a nature as eventually to occasion far more expense to Government than if it had taken the management from the commencement.



It must be borne in mind, that the aborigines of New Zealand are a warlike and formidable race; that they have been known to assemble to the amount of 4000 warriors on land, and by sea 100 war-canoes, of from sixty to ninety men each; that they employ the most insidious cunning in lulling the watchfulness of those whom they wish to surprise; that their attack is like the spring of the tiger. In taking military possession of any part of their country, even after purchase, it would be judicious to employ such a force, and such a demonstration of means and preparation, as render opposition hopeless; while, at the same time, the utmost fairness, friendliness, and attention to their comforts, and to the improvement of their condition, moral and physical, must be shewn, and even respect to their prejudices. It must not be forgotten, that the aborigines in Chili, south of Baldivia (the Araucanians), and of Patagonia (a race, though not quite so barbarous, yet bearing a striking resemblance in character and personal energy to the New Zealander), have always successfully resisted any forcible occupation of their territory by the Spaniards. Their country also very much resembles New Zealand, being one of the most desirable in climate, purity of atmosphere, productiveness, and especially in adaptation to the British race (General Miller mentions a woman of British extraction having twenty-seven children all living). The success of the enterprise, the effecting a friendly amalgamation with the New Zealanders, is of so much the more importance, as the same friendly connection is also extremely desirable with those sturdy Americans, whose country is only second to



New Zealand itself, in political and commercial importance ; and were the amalgamation with the New Zealanders successful, the same connection with the Araucanians would soon follow.

The volume published under the sanction of the New Zealand Association, describing that country, and their plan of colonization, makes light of any danger to be apprehended from the opposition of the natives, and adduces their conduct to the missions, and their tolerance of British settlers, as removing all serious anxiety on the subject. These missionaries and settlers, it states, " continue to reside there in almost every favourable locality in both Islands, not only in safety, but the latter in unmerited impunity, whilst insulting the natives by all manner of outrage, atrocity, and oppression." Although this statement is not a very correct picture of affairs, it is, however, evident, that the British now in New Zealand live under the *protection* of the native chiefs ; that these chiefs find them necessary for obtaining the desired supplies of European commodities, and sale for their flax, food, timber, and that the " outrages and atrocities" perpetrated by the settlers upon the inferior grades of natives, are only tolerated by the savage chiefs partly on this account, partly because of their own inhumanity and selfish disregard of others, and partly on account of a dread of severe retribution by British cruisers. In the event of a British colony being established in New Zealand, it is obvious that they, instead of submitting to the native authority and *protection*, must attempt to bring the natives under the British control. This would grate most harshly with their savage pride. And although at



present the settlers, from their limited numbers, are regarded by the natives without jealousy, a very different feeling might arise from the arrival of a great armament, and the military occupation of a portion of their country, even after it had been purchased; and this feeling would not likely abate as their native authorities, customs, and prejudices, were interfered with, and began to give way under the British influence. It would be to despise all experience of the conduct of other barbarous tribes in like circumstances, it would be to hold the New Zealanders as differing from humanity, that they, unlike Shakspeare's Jew, had not the same "senses, affections, passions," not to expect that a jealousy and bad feeling would arise, and that disturbances could only be prevented by a strong demonstration of power.\* In this view, I think the volume alluded to, by representing the enterprise as too facile, by undervaluing the danger, and not sufficiently recommending precautionary means, may have an injurious tendency; in other respects (with some few exceptions), it has considerable merit, and is highly creditable to the talents and industry of the writers.†

\* Admiration of, and disposition to submit to power, is a characteristic of man, when the moral faculties are nearly dormant. The New Zealanders are not an exception to the rule; a demonstration of power is the more politic.

† In the appendix of this volume, a reverend author in describing the *woful* probable effects of civilization upon the native chiefs,—the curtailment of their means of support by the abolition of slavery,—states, "it would be a sad thing to see the New Zealand chief transformed into the mechanic, the labourer, the petty storekeeper, or even the harpooner; and yet, what else could we expect,



The history of colonization presents a far more melancholy account of its effects upon the aborigines in modern than in ancient times. The primary cause of this is evidently the greater disparity in modern times between the aborigines and the colonists, they being generally quite distinct races, the one at the bottom of the scale of civilization, and the other at the top ; and thence, so distinct in character, or rather nature, that a sympathy and friendly union does not spring up upon contact. In reviewing the particular cases where civilized man has come in contact with what are termed savages, we find, even when justice and kindness have been manifested towards them, as in the instance of the Quakers of Pennsylvania, that effects equally disastrous have followed ; and it is only in cases when there is a higher motive than the individual worldly advantage of the civilized man—when religious enthusiasm is the guiding power, or at least the exerted power, that there is any difference of results. In examining more minutely into the cause of the failures, we find a sufficient one in the wild roving instinct of the savage, who sinks into apathy

unless we suppose him the proud and sulky recipient of poor-law bounty.”—(See page 405). Perhaps it is not very difficult to determine what class of readers the above remark has been intended to please ; and yet even that class will scarcely thank the reverend author for the implied parallel, or sympathize with him in fancying the cannibal-petty-despot, accustomed to shoot his pretty female slaves and to make a repast of their bodies, as being *sadly* degraded should he engage in these most commendable branches of industry, or to regard the being a “*recipient* of poor-law bounty,” as more despicable than being the *recipient* of the gains of his female slaves by their connection with British and American vessels.



when he is not in locomotion ; although, no doubt, the character of that portion of the colonist race who come in contact with the aborigines has also a considerable effect ; they being chiefly reckless wanderers,—refugees from justice and disgrace, who have carried with them only the vices of civilized man, spirituous liquors, and fire-arms ; or small parties of military with their canteen-habits,—all these being generally without domestic ties ; and even the common agricultural pioneer settlers being of the rudest and most selfish description. The failure of the attempts of the just and rational and philanthropic Quakers to civilize their red brethren, peculiarly merits attention. It proves that some impetus more powerful than they have brought into action, is needed to overcome the apathy of the savage, whose eyes (as is stated of the New Zealander) open like tea cups when fighting is spoken of, but which close when you speak of benevolence, and the comforts arising from peace, steady habits, and industry. Religious enthusiasm of a less philosophic character than Quakerism, is the only stimulus sufficient to give him energy to renounce the habits of his race, and to preserve him from falling into an apathetic state under his change of life,—perhaps, also, the only stimulus that can give the instructor sufficient ardour and perseverance. Christianity as taught by our different Protestant missions, or by the Roman Catholic\* missions, is the means

\* The Roman Catholic form of Christianity being directed more towards the senses, is better fitted than the Protestant to have impression upon the savage mind, and the Church government is also much more authoritative—more influential,—but too much so,—so much so, as to be dangerous to after liberty.



which ought to be employed, at the same time supplying the sufficient stimulus, emancipating them from their most pernicious superstitions, affording them a code of the highest morality, enforced by religion, and producing a sympathy and powerful bond of union between them and the colonists. When they become Christians, the gate is then opened to improvement. The success of the missionaries in the Pacific Islands (although it must be allowed that their ministry has been exerted upon an agricultural, or rather a horticultural, population) ought to be kept in view, more particularly in reference to the plan to be adopted towards New Zealand, the population of which are of the same character.

It is therefore of the highest importance to embody a strong moral force for the object in view. There is no alternative,—either the New Zealanders must be civilized, or they will be destroyed. Although a military force cannot be safely dispensed with, yet, to a certain extent, will a moral force be more efficient in affording protection to the colonists, independently of the very valuable purpose it would serve in humanizing and improving the condition of the natives; in reality, preserving them from destruction. The cost of a soldier (officers included) upon foreign service, may be estimated at about L.50 per annum. The service of many valuable men, highly educated, of good abilities and moral worth, could be procured at only the cost of three soldiers each, and their influence, as a peace force, would, to a certain extent of number, be more effective each than ten soldiers. It would, therefore, be judicious that a force of this de-



scription were employed. A number of excellent men, who have been educated for the Church and the medical profession,—at present unemployed, and their abilities lost to the country,—would thus be made available to a purpose of high utility, as well as of generous humanity.

Independent of the portion of this peace corps to be attached to the native tribes, it might be judicious for one of its body to be placed with each detachment of military, to have a surveillance over its proceedings, and to act as a peace-maker in case of disturbance : the military not to be allowed to act offensively unless the peace-maker had failed, and military in small bodies, without a proper responsible officer, never to be allowed to go upon any separate service. By means of this peace corps, a great, well-combined, effort should be made to christianize and civilize the whole native population of the group ; forming normal schools, and even colleges, for the instruction of native teachers, as well clergymen as schoolmasters, and especially instructing the rising generation in the English language. No doubt the expense of this would be considerable. But it is with this as with war, by employing an inferior force defeat might ensue, and the incurred expense be a dead loss ; by employing a sufficient force victory would be ensured. It ought not to be forgotten that the late war in Cafraria cost the nation about L.250,000 in nineteen months, and the loss sustained by British settlers was, perhaps, as much more ; besides many lives, independent of the loss of our opponents, and the stain of guilt. All this might have been prevent-



ed by a properly organized peace force. It is probable that an economic arrangement could be made with the different missionary societies to send out a sufficient number of properly educated religious teachers. All that is to be studied is to guard against the formation of any dominant religious body or power,—the most dangerous of all to liberty, and too often made an engine of State-despotism, but to which the mild liberal spirit and principles of the New Testament are directly opposed. This could best be provided against, by giving encouragement to, or employing properly educated teachers of all persuasions, and the assemblage of creeds and opinions would form an useful school for christian forbearance and liberality. They are *not Christians* who object to this.

In proceeding to colonize a country already containing a considerable population of the most warlike character, and provided with fire-arms, it becomes matter of nice consideration how best to regulate the colonizing *materiel* and system of operation, so as to accomplish the end in view in the most effectual and cheapest manner, and with least risk of loss or suffering either to the emigrants or *indigence*. Along with a sufficient and well-appointed moral force, I would propose the following organization of a defensive and combined-labour nucleus for the colony, as not only affording confidence to intending emigrants, but being in many respects suited to existing circumstances.

Independently of the extremely important advantage of a supply of combined labour, a particular reason for the adoption of a military and labour colony corps IS THE NECESSITY OF A STRONG MILITARY FORCE, AND THE DEMORALIZING AND DEPOPULATING



EFFECT OF ANY SUCH FORCE WHEN IT IS HELD DISTINCT FROM SOCIETY, not possessed of the means of marrying and rearing families,—not bound by domestic ties. It is well known that in our regular army the reproductiveness is next to nothing, and also that it renders a vast number of females unproductive. *It would also be unprofitable and absurd (that it has been generally practised does not lessen the absurdity) to keep men in this situation in a country where a British population is the great desideratum.* Even the few soldiers of the line necessary for models and garrison-duty in New Zealand, and the seamen of the war-vessels, should have it guaranteed them that should they marry they would not be removed permanently from the colony.\* *Not attending to this principle has incalculably retarded the growth, and debased the morals of our colonies,* and has never, I believe, been sufficiently estimated. By far the greatest injury to the New Zealanders, arising from their intercourse with Europeans and Americans, is caused by the resort of the South Sea whalers, and the connection of the seamen with the native women. No-

\* When the Dromedary (Government ship) was out at New Zealand about eighteen years ago, loading spars for the British navy, she was detained ten months procuring a cargo, and the sailors and marines during this stay had nearly an equal number of New Zealand girls constantly with them in the vessel and individually associated as wives. Upon sailing, these women, nearly the whole of them *enceinte*, were, by order, driven out of the vessel perforce.—(See Capt. Cruise's account.) The same is occurring every day with our whalers; and, nevertheless, scarcely a child of the mixed race is to be seen. Perhaps the power of discipline over British soldiers and sailors was never more strongly exemplified than in their obeying orders in the above case of the Dromedary.



thing can put a stop to these demoralizing and depopulating practices but the change before stated taking place in the mode of carrying on the fishery, a change which the occupation of New Zealand would soon bring about. Those carrying on the fishery would then have wives and families located in New Zealand.



## CHAPTER XI.

PLAN OF A PROTECTING AND COMBINABLE-LABOUR  
NUCLEUS FOR THE COLONY.

1. That from 600 to 1000 men (best Scots or English or northern Irish), active labourers, house-cart-plough-mill-ship-wrights, saw-millers, ploughmen, masons, smiths, gardeners, coast-fishers, tailors, schoolmasters,—be enlisted to serve five years (after arrival) in a New Zealand local infantry,—a clear and specific bargain being entered into betwixt the Government and the enlisting men in regard to the nature of the service, conditions, treatment.

2. That a number of serjeants, or those capable of being serjeants, men of good character, be drafted into it from the line to act as disciplinarians; meritorious soldiers having families, to have a preference.

3. That this corps be officered by *practical* men of good education,—if possible, by emigrating capitalists and engineers,—a proportion of half-pay officers, agriculturists, and master-builders would be useful.

4. That a committee of selection be formed previous to the enlistment, to accept of picked men only, of industrious habits and good character, handsome fellows of fine muscular and cerebral development. The more discriminating nicety shewn by the selection committee, the greater the difficulty of admission, the more numerous would be the applicants.



5. That two-thirds at least of this corps furnish themselves with young women to accompany them in the expedition. The men to receive particular injunctions to choose mates who would not eventually bring disgrace on the colony. The women to receive rations till their gardens become productive.

6. That the corps, after reaching New Zealand, be a few weeks yearly in military training, so as to keep up a proper discipline, and at other times be employed as labourers and artisans in the necessary public erections and improvements, their work being within daily access of their dwellings.

7. That every man receive an acre or more of good garden ground, with a suitable house erected by the corps upon it, as soon as possible after arrival; and that four weeks annually be allowed him for working the same in proper season,—of course his pay deducted for this time.

8. That no part of the corps, on any account whatever, be removed from New Zealand without their own consent.

9. That clever artisans, fishers, &c. receive one-third more pay than the common labourers for the time they are at work, and that a sufficient stimulus for exertion be kept up by granting rewards of additional ground to the most active and deserving.

10. That as the best means of preserving peace is to be prepared for war, the corps be embodied several months previous to embarking, and brought to that efficiency of discipline, as, in case of necessity, to be able for actual service on landing.

11. That a corps of about 300 soldiers of the regular army,—foot, artillery, riflemen, a small rocket



corps, and a few cavalry,—to serve as patterns to the local corps, and to garrison the forts, accompany the expedition.

12. That three vessels, a frigate, a small sloop of war, and a small gun-boat steamer, also accompany the expedition : these to be constantly employed in visiting the different settlement stations, and in making a complete nautical survey of the coast and harbours of the group, for the construction of charts. A naval force thus employed would be by far the most overawing. The New Zealanders are a maritime people, having many war and fishing canoes, and the whole of these, from the one end of the group to the other, would thus be at our mercy. Independent of any relation to the New Zealand colony, there would be no loss in a naval force of considerably more strength being stationed here,—*it could be profitably employed in the whale-fishery* ; nothing would tend so much to make fine seamen ;\* and, in the event of war with America or Russia, it would be ready to act on one of our most exposed positions in protecting our Australian colonies and our South Sea fishery.

13. That the garrison soldiers and seamen of the war-vessels be encouraged to have wives and families in the colony, and, in the event of their marrying, not to be removeable from the group of islands for any long period of time.

\* Hunting the tiger or the elephant is child-play to hunting the great sperm whale. Our younger aristocracy,—nautical Nimrods,—would take to the sport *con amore*. The chase of those black sea-monsters would be excellent training for the chase of an enemy, and a little prize-money would be going.—(See Appendix, G.)



14. That no convicts be admitted into New Zealand, except perhaps for the purpose of erecting one or more forts on the coast in commanding situations, under whose guns our shipping might lie in security. From the paramount importance of the position of New Zealand as commanding the whole Pacific trade, and as Cook's Strait is the natural thoroughfare for homeward-bound Australian traders, several strong harbour-forts would be necessary. That convicts so employed be kept secluded from the colonists, and removed from the islands when the works are finished.

15. That emancipists be excluded, as otherwise, from the proximity to New South Wales, they would flock to New Zealand in such numbers as to become a malignant moral pest.

16. That ardent spirits, as being equally a moral and mortal pest to savage life, be also excluded. The history of the British and Anglo-American connection with the uncivilized races of mankind exemplify in every instance the absolute necessity of this regulation. The French, Spaniards, and Portuguese, have amalgamated better with uncivilized races than the British, and their contact, leaving out cases of actual slaughter and compulsory unwholesome labour in mines, has not been attended with the same fatal effects. This has arisen chiefly from their more temperate habits, and not trafficking so much in spirituous liquors as the British. The law respecting all modifications of alcohol should be, that it be destroyed when found, and the possessors banished the islands. Treaties should, if possible, be entered into with the native tribes to this effect,—the object being explained. The temperance clause will, besides, afford an



excellent test of proper settlers. With the clause the success of the colony, and the civilization and prosperity of the aborigines, is highly probable; without this clause the colony, by force of arms, by the exertion of British power, may be successful, but the destruction of the aborigines is almost inevitable. The New Zealand group, by reason of its position, extent, resources, and more temperate climate, befitting it for higher civilization and denser population, is naturally calculated to give the impress of its morals and institutions to the numerous Pacific groups peopled by the Malayan race, as well as to Australia. Therefore is the prosperity and civilization of the native New Zealand Malay population, and their friendly amalgamation with the British, the higher an object, and every thing necessary or conducive thereto, as temperance, high principle, humanity, more onerous in duty and policy. Surely the intending settler must be altogether devoid of philanthropy and of proper British feeling, who gives one thought to the subject,—to the greatness of the purpose to be served,—and who can for a moment deliberate respecting the eligibility of excluding spirituous liquors.

17. That all settlers able to bear arms be organized in militia corps, and properly disciplined.

As the New Zealand infantry will have no charges of cavalry to withstand, and as the natives bear a great respect to double-barrel guns, acknowledging no other authority than the number of muskets, it might perhaps be worth considering whether it would not be proper to arm one-half of the infantry with double-barrel guns and short hanger, and the other with long-ranging rifle, pistol, and hanger. It has



been found advantageous to arm some of our Cape corps in this manner. These arms would be more efficient in bush-fighting than those in common use, and the hanger would be indispensable for cutting the way through the liannes and tall fern.



## CHAPTER XII.

NECESSARY SUPPLIES—LOCATION OF THE COLONIZING  
EXPEDITION—PURCHASE AND SALE OF LANDS TO  
COLONISTS—TITLES, REGISTRATION, &C.

*Supplies.*—Every thing necessary for the colony—clothing, iron, hardware, tools, implements—for two years to come, would require to be carried out with the expedition, or follow in a few months after, when warehouses shall be got ready to receive them. As a considerable quantity of pork, potatoes, Indian corn, &c., are to be had in New Zealand, and the country being only one or two weeks' sail from New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, it will not be necessary to carry out the whole supply of provisions. The animal food and breeding stock will be obtained on the spot or from New South Wales, and the supply of vegetables can soon be raised in abundance. But with respect to the grain, rice and flour, *it will be for several years much more economical to import the whole from the Baltic and India*, whence these articles can be had, including freight, at a much lower rate than the average price at Van Diemen's Land or New South Wales, and at much less cost than the value of the labour necessary to raise them on the spot. This arrangement would leave the whole labour of the co-



lony disposable for purposes of improvement,—erecting proper buildings, fences, bridges, road-making,—rearing stock, nurseries, fruit-bearing trees, and the thousand-and-one indispensables. In importing grain from the Baltic or Black Sea, it would be necessary to have it put on board in the best condition, either kiln-dried, or dried from exposure to a summer's drought, and to have a metallic lining (zinc or lead sheets) to the vessels with sufficient dunnage; best to have a vessel with bilge pumps. It would also be of advantage to have a quantity of flour, made from very dry wheat, and of high-dried oatmeal, taken out in large boxes lined with tin-paper. Flour and meal thus prepared and preserved, will remain sweet for a number of years. Nothing would tend so much to the prosperity of the colony, and the forwarding of improvements, as a cheap foreign supply of grain for several years, sold to emigrants at prime cost and charges. Of course, a considerable quantity would require to be kept in store to guard against sea-accident.

*Location of the Colonizing Expedition.*—In order the more effectually to extend our influence over the whole country, and accomplish its speedy pacification and improvement, it would be necessary to occupy at least three different points in force. Separating the armament in three divisions, one division might locate at the Bay of Islands, having a wing extending westward to the Hokianga; another could locate at Port-Kaipara, occupying the isthmus, and extending south to the mouth of and along the Waikato rivers. This location could have a communication



by a line of posts kept up with the other at the Bay of Islands and Hokianga, being only about seventy miles distant from both places. The third division would require to locate in Cook's Straits, either at Port-Nicolson, or in Queen Charlotte Sound and Cloudy Bay; best on both sides of the straits. Independent of these grand divisions, smaller nuclei of civilization would require to be organized and established with each tribe or combined cluster of tribes who could be induced to receive them, to consist of a resident or native protector (empowered to make purchases of territory in name of the British Government, and to take cognizance of British stragglers), and of teachers of morality, science, and the more useful arts. From ten to twenty individuals, according to the importance of the tribe, might suffice for each establishment; say one native protector, one clergyman, one surgeon, one surveyor, several schoolmasters, one gardener or farmer, several police, wright, smith, shipbuilder, ropemaker, sawer, &c. A communication, by regular visits of the naval force, would require to be kept up with these establishments, by means of which any warlike preparation, or general intended rising on the part of the natives, could be made known at headquarters. An officer of the highest responsibility (perhaps the governor himself) to visit all these establishments annually, with great discretionary power.

*Purchase and Sale of Lands to Colonists, Titles, Registration.*—The purchase of all lands from the native tribes will require to be made by the British Government through her accredited agents, and



afterwards resold to the settlers at such a price per acre as bring the highest return, without checking the influx of the most useful class of emigrants, working small capitalists, or too much impeding the sales ; the difference of price to be expended in carrying out labouring emigrants, and in paying them for work in constructing roads and other public improvements after their arrival. Whatever purchases may have been made by British settlers previous to the arrival of the colony, should be revised ;\* and in all cases where no cultivation or enclosing of the ground has taken place, the Government ought to make itself owner of the purchase, by paying the claimant the first cost, with interest from the time of purchase ; at the same time giving him a choice of a portion of it—say to the amount of 2000 acres—at the Government sale price. In those cases where cultivation or proper enclosure has taken place, all the improved land, with a corresponding outfield pasturage (not too extensive), to remain in the hands of the claimant, upon payment of the difference between the Government purchase-price and sale-price of such lands. Should the holder not consent to this, that he receive prime cost and value of improvements, and vacate the lands. The justice of this arrangement is based upon two principles : 1st, That the natives have not sufficient right to dispose of the wilderness ; *that the property right of all new lands lies in the colonizing government, by whose protection it only acquires value.* 2d, That the extra price

\* Something of an expediency compromise is necessary here, as many *pretended* claims will be made, and that it will be impossible to distinguish between the more and the less valid.



which Government charges beyond what it may pay for the good will of the natives, is in effect no price, but merely a very necessary (compulsory) subscription or contribution to carry out labourers in proportion to the extent of the property. It would be extremely unjust that the purchasers, or rather settlers, previous to the arrival of the colony, should be allowed to benefit themselves by the labourers whom other men's money had carried out ; that they should reap where they did not sow ; or that they should not pay some equivalent for the increased value which the protection of the British colonial government would give to their estates.

*As the agricultural improvement, and even the general prosperity of a country, is mainly dependent upon the nature of the tenures of land property, it is necessary to have this very important affair put under the most advantageous regulation from the beginning, and that all British titles be clear, short, and after one form, and a simple and correct registration adopted. It would save an immensity of future trouble and litigation, and damage to society, to allow of no charters, nor papers of any kind, connected with the tenures of land property, excepting the registration book of the district ; in which a page could be opened exclusively for each property, describing its boundaries, size, and owner ; and, in the case of a transfer, the parties to attend personally, in presence of the register-keeper, and both simply sign their names, the one as purchaser, and the other seller, attested by two witnesses and the register-keeper ; or, in case the principals cannot be present, that they sign a stamped printed form issued by the register-keeper,*



attested by witnesses, empowering him to make the transfer in the register-book, in presence of a certain number of attesting witnesses. In case of division of the estate, a new page would require to be opened for each section. There never can be secure tenures of land in any country while the title is dependent upon stray pieces of parchment, so liable to be mislaid or destroyed. All our old mouldy parchments—mere instruments for lawyer-pillage—should be made a bonfire of. We shall never have good titles, till *possession*, living witnesses, and the register-book, be the only title. Of course, the register-book must be kept in a fire-proof apartment.



## CHAPTER XIII.

## TREATMENT OF THE NATIVES—ADDRESS TO THE NATIVES ON REACHING NEW ZEALAND, AND PRESSING OCCUPATION ON LANDING.

Limits ought to be put to the extent to which purchases from the natives are to be carried, securing to them for a certain period of years rather a superfluity of land, than depriving them, although by purchase, of what is necessary for growing sufficient food and other supplies. At the same time, every encouragement should be held forth to induce them to settle individually upon particular portions of ground, intermixed with the British colonists. For this purpose, assistance should be given them in making enclosures, and erecting dwellings; presents should be made them of plants of fruit-bearing trees, and even cattle; and they should be carefully instructed and exhorted to cultivate their land after our example.

It ought, at the same time, to be a leading object of policy, gradually to break up their savage confederations and clan-system, by withdrawing the people from the control of the chiefs, and by generous, kind, and beneficial treatment, to bring them to look up to the Colonial Government, and that of Britain, with



pride and grateful attachment ; in short, to regard themselves as the subjects, not of a cannibal-petty-despot, but of the Queen of Britain—free subjects of the greatest empire of the world. As the colony progresses, the slaves ought to be manumitted in some way or other, and the most perfect civil equality secured to all, as soon as the British Colonial Government has acquired sufficient authority and extension to supersede the wretched native anarchies of clan-tyranny and superstition. Above all things, every effort must be made to educate the children in British literature, and to train them up in the habits of civilized life : after Christianity, British literature is the grand lever to elevate the character of the rising generation, give them a British feeling, and adapt them for a complete amalgamation with the British race. Estimated in reference to New Zealand becoming a British colony, the missionaries have perhaps misdirected their labour in rendering the New Zealand language a written one, as it will only tend to perpetuate a distinctive trait, and be a barrier to their access to the grand source of knowledge and refinement.

In our conduct towards the natives, it ought to be kept in view, that men cannot be driven to improvement without sustaining more injury than advantage, at least in the ultimate effects, that nothing can impair the native energy so much as being crammed with that which they do not wish, or may loathe. They must be led to desire information and improvement, and be enabled by example and advice to effect it themselves. The advantage lies more in the energy-creating impetus of curiosity and discovery,



than in the received knowledge. Means ought to be adopted, by enlarging their views, and cultivating their moral sentiments, to give their strong love of approbation or vanity a proper direction. Their high pride-of character, accustomed to run riot in revenge and destruction, would thus be taught to seek its gratification in the generous emulation to excel in the pursuits of industry and social advancement. As a feeling of self-abasement is the most injurious, and of self-approbation the most advantageous, in tendency, they ought to be treated with high consideration, as reasoning beings, possessed of moral sentiment and natural sympathy, and they will be led to act reasonably, and justly, and humanely. Places of trust and honour should be open to their exertion, and every possible use made of their assistance.

How far the keeping of any of the still existing native social regulations should be encouraged, being a mere expediency question, cannot be resolved till the extent of the colonizing force is seen, and the animus of the natives after the occupation be ascertained. Were their customs only neutral in relation to morality and improvement, they might be encouraged for a time, but as they are generally interwoven with debasing superstition, and hurtful and inhuman practices, the sooner they are swept away perhaps the better.\* It might be attempted to get them to

\* Lieutenant-Colonel Colebroke states, respecting colonists and aborigines occupying portions of the same territory, that each should follow their own system of government alongside of each other, and be encouraged gradually to assimilate, in conformity to local necessities. "I have not the smallest doubt," says he, "that Aaron's rod would swallow up all other rods; that the native communities would assimilate in all essential



adopt a regular government, with trial by jury, in imitation of the British ; the Colonial Government to confirm a chief or magistrates of their own electing, and to strengthen his or their authority in maintaining order, as well over the strolling whites as over the native population. In all cases of crime or injury committed against the natives by the colonists, summary punishment ought to be inflicted (in part always by fine, paid to the injured party in compensation), as the consequences of such offences might be of a very fatal nature ; and in the case of injury to the colonists by the natives, their own sentiments respecting right and wrong should be taken into account, and the punishment only directed as a preventive of further injury and crime, and not in the spirit of retaliation and revenge ; perhaps, in the latter case, and in all cases of dispute between individuals of the different races, the jury or judges ought to consist of equal numbers of both races.

The establishment of several hospitals, where the natives could have medical treatment and maintenance during sickness and disease, would be of incalculable advantage, and equally requisite as a means of gaining their attachment, as from being a humane duty. The missionaries would be as meritoriously occupied, and acting quite as much in accordance with the example they ought to follow, in healing the bodily diseases of the natives, as in preaching

particulars to the European communities ; and that both would become blended, without any compromise or violation of the rights of either." See minutes of Parliamentary Evidence. I fear that the social order is at too low an ebb in New Zealand for trial of this.



religious doctrine. Every missionary, before leaving Britain, should pass several months in an hospital, attending to the treatment of diseases and wounds. A number of regularly bred medical practitioners would, however, be indispensable.

*Address to the Natives on reaching New Zealand, and pressing occupations on disembarking.*—In order fully to develop the resources of New Zealand, and place her as speedily as possible in a position materially to increase our maritime preponderance in the Pacific, and cover our operations there in case of war; the good will and co-operation of the native tribes must be secured, at whatever cost. Every possible means must be taken to conciliate them by useful presents, and to enlighten them in regard to the advantages which an efficient general government, a union with Britain, and the comforts of civilization would afford. On the expeditions reaching their points of destination, the neighbouring tribes must be instructed, through proper interpreters, that the Queen of Great Britain has been sore aggrieved to hear of their intestine wars, continual broils, and horrid massacres: that, as though her people and ships, the means of destruction, fire-arms, anarchy, and disease, depopulating their fine country, has been introduced amongst them, she has considered it a duty to remedy these evils, and has sent us to teach them to live together in amity, instead of fighting with frenzied cruelty, and tearing out each other's hearts like wild beasts: that we come as friends to live amongst them, to cultivate the unoccupied land, and to unite with them as one people, under the same



just laws : that every thing they possess shall be held sacred to them : that we will purchase the land we occupy : that a powerful but rude nation may take advantage of their disunion to come and enslave them, if we do not protect them ; and that, though we possess irresistible power, we are incapable of exerting it but under the guidance of justice and humanity : that all war and aggressive inroads by one tribe upon the territory of another must cease : that all disputes must be settled by just arbitration, and not by fighting : that we will defend them from the aggressive inroads of all enemies, provided they do not themselves aggress : that we come to cure their diseases, to lead them in the path of prosperity, so that they may increase in numbers and wealth, and become a great nation : that we will teach them the arts of peace, to build cities, to construct large ships, to capture whales, to cultivate the earth with ploughs and horses, so that their fine country may be covered with corn fields, fruit-bearing trees, and flocks and herds, and all their harbours filled with great ships : that should they refuse to receive us, we will go to some other tribes who have sense to know how advantageous our alliance would be, and that the tribes we unite with will soon obtain supremacy over the others.

Having disembarked, and got the colony and stores under cover, the more pressing occupations of the settlement will immediately commence ; some advantageous position must be fortified to make our footing tenable ; comfortable dwellings have to be erected ; ground must be prepared for raising the necessary provisions, and for laying out nurseries of all the va-



luable fruit-bearing trees of Europe. Stock must also be procured. As many as possible of the natives should then be admitted as apprentices, with pay, and under the most lenient treatment, into the various works of utility to be carried on, and the capabilities of the country for producing exportable commodities as quickly as possible brought out. Saw-mills will be set a-going, dock-yards formed, manufactories of New Zealand flax, and whale-fishing establishments begun. The friendly natives would also require to be received into the colonial army, and the influential chiefs appointed as officers, and regularly paid. Nothing would tend so much to procure their favour as this. With the powerful assistance of the natives, men-of-war might soon be economically built and sent to India, or home to Britain, loaded with flax and spars.



## CHAPTER XIV.

## BILL FOR COLONIZING NEW ZEALAND.

The foregoing plan for colonizing New Zealand, with the exception of several amendments, was laid before a member of the present Government by the writer several years ago. A copy of "A bill for the Provisional Government of British settlements in the islands of New Zealand, prepared and brought in by the Hon. Francis Baring and Sir George Sinclair, of June 1. 1838," has just come to hand (14th June 1838), and a few remarks upon it may be pertinent.

In taking a general view of the plan proposed in the bill, the prominent defects are the inadequacy of the *ways and means*, and the pernicious system of obtaining them. In the peculiar situation of New Zealand, a strong military and naval force is indispensable to overawe the natives, the stranger mariners, and the convict banditti; several forts of considerable strength are requisite; a considerable judicial establishment is necessary to determine of the claims of emigrants already located, and the disputes and infractions of the law so frequent amongst a necessarily very incongruous population; the religious and educational establishments will be comparatively



more expensive than in an old community; the survey department will also be costly (that of New South Wales is L.12,000, and that of Van Diemen's Land L.6000, per annum); and all this is proposed to be effected, in the first place, by borrowed moneys, at a rate of interest so high (most probably from seven to ten per cent.—the bill *prudently* limits it to ten), that should it even be found practicable to effect loans to the requisite extent during the first ten or twelve years (before which time no great amount of export can reasonably be expected to make a return so as to enable the settlers to pay taxes, the surplus proceeds of the land sales being restricted to carrying out labour emigrants, &c.), these loans accumulating, must entail so great a debt upon the colony as to blight its nascent prosperity in the bud, and the whole affair will turn out little better than the famous South Sea bubble scheme of 1720.

What will also be found a very great defect, is the want of adequate funds to afford sufficiently strong civilizing educational and medical establishments to be resident with the various native tribes. Such establishments, in their tendency to bring the whole native population and country quietly and speedily under the British sovereignty, are in many respects exceedingly important, and might save much blood and treasure, and remove a fertile field of dispute with foreign powers.

An infant colony stands in the same relation to the parent country as an infant child to the mother. The support of the parent is for a time necessary, and, as in nature's provision (suckling at the breast), should be afforded in the most cherishing manner,



till the child shall have attained vigour to forage for itself. This bill speaks of pursuing a different course, and instead of bestowing nutriment and protection as a parent endowed with natural affection would do, brings the mother country forward as a hard step-dame, or as a pander to the stock-jobber lending out moneys to her child, at such high usance as must enhance the debt in the space of about fourteen years to four times the amount of the sum borrowed, in twenty-eight years to sixteen times, and in fifty-six years to sixty-four times that amount.\*

That our crown colonies have been conducted injudiciously and extravagantly—that we have done very good things in a very foolish and wasteful manner, few will deny; but is this a reason why we should throw our infant offspring into the hands of the stock-jobber, to suck out the very heart's-blood and marrow of its life? This would indeed be a *reform* from mitigated good to unmitigated evil. From the very great importance of New Zealand to Great Britain, as already pointed out, it is as much her interest to give a little primary nursing, as it is the interest of the husbandman to harrow, weed, and

\* The terms on which the South Australian colony borrowed their first loan increases the debt in this progression. Were Great Britain to give guarantee, the money could be borrowed at less than half this amount of interest, and to the requisite extent. Under this guarantee the debt of the colony incurred at the commencement and running on for twenty-eight years, instead of amounting to sixteen times the sum borrowed, would not even reach four times that sum. Say L.300,000 were borrowed: in twenty-eight years it would be enhanced to nearly L.5,000,000, whereas with the guarantee it would reach only L.1,000,000.



protect the seed he commits to the earth and for which he will reap a remuneration, ten, twenty, and a hundred fold. That we find we have hitherto sown and cultivated our very productive colonial fields in a thriftless and foolish manner, should only be a reason for reforming our husbandry-practice, for doing the thing economically and wisely ; not for running into the mad scheme of getting the stock-jobber to lend his assistance in the cultivation, and who in the end would swallow up everything—seed and all.

The clause which provides that all slaves belonging to the natives shall be free as soon as the natives place themselves under the British Government, is too absolute and uncompromising. This would, in all probability, be the means of preventing the native free population, to any considerable amount, from voluntarily placing themselves and territory under the sovereignty of Great Britain, and thus eventually be a hindrance to the emancipation of the slaves ; whereas were the country once brought under the British authority, it might soon be practicable to effect their liberation. To bring the whole country peaceably under the authority of the British Government as speedily as possible, is the great object, and every thing which may have a tendency to prevent or defer this should be struck out of the bill. A proviso could be made for purchasing the slaves and for rendering them British apprentices, under certain strict limitations, after the British authority was fully established.

Another deficiency of considerable importance is, that there is no stipulation respecting the introduction of a legislative assembly.



With these exceptions, the provisions of the bill are generally judicious, and the getting up not amiss, passing a little superfluous law-foppery verbage and some antiquated formalities, which could be spared, There is, however, a material defect, which must be remedied. There is yet no absolute claims put forth on the part of Great Britain to the sovereignty of these islands.\* The bill, however, regulates that no person whatever shall be allowed to purchase any territory of these islands from the natives excepting those authorized by the British Commissioners. Without a proclamation of an absolute claim to the sovereignty, by the Crown of Great Britain, what right have Parliament to assume these powers? To prevent others from purchasing is an indirect assumption of the sovereignty. How much better it would be to do the thing in a bold straightforward manner. The following proclamation might suffice :

## PROCLAMATION.

Be it known to all men,—Whereas the group of islands, sometime called New Zealand, situated in the South Pacific, were first formally taken possession of in the name of the British Crown by Captain Cook before any other European or other civilized man had set foot thereon :—whereas the inhabitants of these islands are in a state of murderous anarchy and cannibalism, shocking to humanity, and totally incapable of establishing social order among them-

\* The claim by the Governor of New South Wales, never sanctioned or ratified by the British Crown, is not enough in a case of this magnitude and importance.



selves, of reducing the numerous banditti or pirates who shelter in these parts, and of instituting any general responsible government; and besides, as they are so fast decreasing in numbers, in consequence of this anarchy, and the diseases and other evils incident upon their present unregulated connection with the European race as to threaten ere long their utter extermination:—and whereas a nation such as Great Britain, which, from a superior social organization and the advancement of the arts of life, has attained a very dense population, beyond the means of competent subsistence within its own confined territory, has a natural right to extend itself over the waste or comparatively desolate regions of the earth: and moreover, whereas a very considerable number of British subjects have already located themselves in these islands, subject to every lawless outrage, and that Great Britain has the power more than any other nation to colonize these islands entirely, to establish a strong general government, to check the evils under which the natives are fast disappearing, and to bring these islands from being the haunts of roaming cannibals and banditti, to a state of high prosperity, where millions of civilized men would procure a plentiful subsistence and lead peaceful happy lives—these good and sufficient reasons moving us, WE, THE QUEEN OF GREAT BRITAIN, VICTORIA, from this date, do take absolute sovereign possession of these regions and group of islands, including the bays and bordering sea within three leagues of land, under the name of the country VICTORIA, as part and portion of our British Empire,



This bill for the colonization of New Zealand, brought into the Commons' House on the 1st June, was thrown out on the second reading on the 21st, by a majority of 60,—32 voting for, and 92 against; the Ministry giving it their decided opposition.

The opposition of the Ministry occasioned considerable disappointment and irritation to the committee and others connected with the association, as they had expected the Ministry would rather have supported the bill. This seems to have arisen partly from a misapprehension respecting the means of obtaining the necessary funds, the Ministry supposing, when the committee stated that funds were in readiness, that the parties themselves were to supply the necessary funds, and not to proceed by loans, as in the case of South Australia. This misunderstanding led to recrimination, and, on the second reading, Sir G. Grey and Lord Howick spoke against the bill. Sir G. Grey stated, "The Colonial Minister mentioned, when the bill was first submitted to him, that he objected to devolve the power proposed to be conferred by this bill upon persons who were wholly irresponsible, who had no substantial interest in the proceeding, and who might at any time absolve themselves, by their act, from the obligations proposed by the bill. From the first, there had been distinct notice given, that Government would not consent to allow persons, by parliamentary sanction, to exercise sovereign power, and to borrow capital. They would not allow irresponsible persons to go into the market, and to borrow money under a parliamentary sanction." And Lord Howick, in answer to Mr. G. H. Ward, further



explained, as follows :—“ That the first view of the case presented no positive grounds of objection to the general principle of the project, but at the same time, it was distinctly impressed upon the deputation, that any measure to which the Government would give its support, must pay particular attention to these two important points ; *first*, That the subjects of the British Crown should not be inveigled into any scheme by which their lives and property might be wantonly risked ; and, *secondly*, That security should be afforded that full justice should be done to the original inhabitants of the soil. These two points were urged upon the projectors, as absolute essentials, before any scheme on the subject could be entertained by the Government. There was one point for which he particularly contended, namely, that the Government should have a decided and effectual control over the conduct of the Commissioners. Now, he would ask, whether any such control was provided by the present bill ? On the contrary, the Commissioners once appointed, their acts would be wholly beyond control, and themselves irremovable by any thing short of another act of Parliament. He certainly understood, that the parties were prepared at once to produce all the required funds ; and if he had thought, for a moment, that it was to be raised, by way of loan, he for one should have certainly declared that the project was one altogether inadmissible. If the parties to the project had themselves the money to advance, the case would have been very different, from a speculation supported by a borrowed capital, at 10 per cent interest.” \* \* \* “ It had been said, that Parliament



had already sanctioned the principle of this bill in South Australia, and that it had succeeded there. He doubted, whether they had arrived at such a stage in the history of the South Australian scheme, as to warrant them in fixing a criterion of its success. He did not believe that the interest of the loan was paid from funds fairly derived from the colony. He questioned rather that in a great measure they were paid out of new loans. But there existed a great difference between the case of South Australia, and that of New Zealand ; and the difficulties, with which the project, in regard to the latter, would be involved, were infinitely greater than those of the former. There was, in his opinion, neither sufficient protection to the property and lives of the British subjects who are sent out, nor to the aboriginal inhabitants of the soil, afforded by the present bill."

The objections stated by the Ministry, to commencing with a loan, is a valid one. It is a pity that our British Ministry have not always had the same repugnance to loans, and for which the country is now paying even more than 10 per cent. (the due correction being made for the changed value of money). The principle of government loans is altogether pernicious, and the sooner the world is rid of the system the better, although a loan could never have been taken for a more laudable purpose.\*

\* Government loans have seldom been resorted to, but in the case of war. They enable both parties, after expending their own available means on the quarrel, to expend also the hoarded industry of all around, thus wasting accumulated property,—depriving the world of the means of present comfort



The difficulties and intricacies which would attend the home-directory scheme of the association, applied to such an object as the colonization of New Zealand, are so great, as render it inadmissible. That scheme, as already stated, would never have been thought of, as applicable to New Zealand, primarily. It was borrowed from that of South Australia,—a very simple affair, when compared with the colonization of New Zealand. The association cannot be blamed, but in so far as having taken up (their means considered) an impracticable, at least unfeasible project. The error lay in the magnitude and difficulty of the enterprise,—the provisions of the bill were necessarily defective, and inadmissible, and Government finding, upon more mature consideration, that difficulties only increased, were perhaps warranted in taking the decided part against it, which they took. The duty of colonizing New Zealand now devolves upon them.

A home-directory, or provisional commission, entirely distinct from the government of the empire,

and of future improvement, and rendering the posterity of the parties slaves to the usurious money-lender, or rather, as things are regulated, rendering the industrious classes slaves to the non-industrious. The Bonapartean system of levying contributions was much less objectionable. It did not approach like the stealthy consumption, with fever excitement, and the flattering glow upon the cheek, nor interfere with the industry of posterity. The funding system is in effect a new species of slavery, cunningly devised, and dexterously brought into operation, under the mask of liberty. Loans, by the joint-stock companies, are of a very different character, as the borrowers are themselves accountable, and they cannot, as in the case of Government functionaries, throw the burden of interest payments upon others, while they make their own uses of the principle.



unpaid, irresponsible, with great power, and extensive patronage, could only find excuse in the vast extent of business of our Colonial Government, from necessity producing occasional neglect or delay, or causing highly important powers and duties to devolve upon inferior officers of this department, who may not be known to have the knowledge, abilities, or character which commissioners such as those proposed for the New Zealand colony would have. Yet the responsibility of the superiors is an useful check, and commissioners could be nominated by Government, for whom it would be responsible. To allow any set of irresponsible men to have the management of a funded debt, or to raise loans, would be improper. They would have it in their power to purchase or sell, or get their friends to do so, and regulate the financial enactments in relation to *this*, and not to the interests of the colony. The power to determine the extent of taxation,—to decide betwixt the interest of the fundholder and the colonists, would be a dangerous and invidious power, and the possessors, in all probability would achieve the ill-will of both. To put so important a colony, and so commanding a naval station, in a proper state of defence during peace (a precaution highly necessary) would also be attended with much complication and perplexity of accounts. The chance is, that debates and contentions would have arisen betwixt the Government and the New Zealand commissioners respecting the manner of doing this, and the proportion of the expense to be borne by the empire, and by the colony, which would have prevented the doing of the thing altogether, or caused



it to be done in a very inefficient manner. And, in the event of war, a provisional government, distinct from the government of the empire, would be out of the question.

The indubitable fact is, that New Zealand, the Key of the Pacific, is of paramount importance, politically and commercially, to Britain,—more so than any other colony or dependency in the world; that the colonization will be attended with considerable difficulties; that delay only increases these difficulties; that the thing must be done; that to do it properly will require a martial and moral force, greater than any provisional commissioners would supply;—and that it belongs to Government alone to execute the great work.



## CHAPTER XV.

## THE ECONOMY OF COLONIZATION.

*A Consideration of the Effects of a "sufficient" or high Government price of fresh Land, upon the Prosperity of new Settlements, and the Physical, Moral, and Social Condition of Colonists, with an Account of the Practice in South Australia.*

Previous to concluding this volume, it may not be improper to bestow a little attention upon an opinion which has of late been prevalent, regarding the beneficial influence of a considerable price on new colonial lands, more especially as its correctness seems to be assumed by those connected with the New Zealand association, and the South Australian colony, and admitted by at least a portion of the Ministry, and thus may seriously affect our colonial system.

The supposed merits of this new idea, "the sufficient price," will be understood by the following explanations by Lord Glenelg. "It is possible by fixing the price of fresh land so high as to place it above the reach of the poorest class, to keep the labour market in its most prosperous state from the beginning. This precaution, by insuring a supply of labourers, at the same time that it increases the



value of land, makes it more profitable to cultivate old land well than to purchase new. The natural tendency of the population to spread over the surface of the country, each man settling where he may, or roving from place to place in pursuit of virgin soil, is thus impeded. The territory expanding only with the pressure of population, is commensurate with the actual wants of the entire community. Society being thus kept together, is more open to civilizing influences, more directly under the control of Government, more full of the activity which is inspired by common wants, and the strength which is derived from the division of labour, and altogether is in a sounder state, morally, politically, and economically, than if left to pursue its natural course."

This supply of the labour market, kept up by "a sufficient price" upon new land, obliging people without the requisite capital to work as helps or servants, and thus affording combinable labour, is, according to Mr Wakefield (the originator of the sufficient-price idea), to banish slavery altogether, by making slave-labour a loss (plenty of superior hired labour being made attainable), and to render the community with or without a continued immigration, "more prosperous than any that has hitherto existed in any part of the world." Of such importance is this land-restriction, servant-producing scheme held, that the direction of the proceeds of the land sales to the carrying out of emigrants, is regarded as a minor consideration. The "sufficient price" would (they assert) be attended with highly beneficial effects, "although the proceeds were to be thrown into the sea."



Mr Wakefield's idea is ingenious and striking, and this restrictive principle, in some cases, and to a certain extent of price, may work well ; at least may be advantageous in increasing production. In as far as the proceeds of the sale of new lands are expended in carrying out labourers, and in forming roads and other improvements of communication, provided the price be not so high as exclude small working capitalists, the plan is good. The necessity of a supply of combinable labour in new colonies is evident, especially at the commencement, as many public works must be carried on ; but as things advance, that this supply will be required to the amount generally estimated in this country, or that it is judicious or even practicable to obtain this supply, in the way proposed by the *sufficient price*, is not so evident. The "sufficient price" is a term of rather difficult apprehension ; but taking it, as stated by Mr Wakefield, in the character of *so high* a price as renders slave labour a loss, we have something to lay hold of ; and to this view of the "sufficient price," or even to such a price as may act as a barrier to the spread of the population over the country, and produce that condition of agricultural society, master and servants, such a price as they seem to contemplate, I extend my observations.

Before entering upon the consideration of the "sufficient price" scheme, it may, however, be as well to notice a prevalent opinion connected with it, which has been rather more indebted to poetical figure than to reason for its popularity.

Sir Henry Steuart's *discovery* of moving about grown trees, "by which a desert can be instantly



transformed into an Eden,"\* has been again and again introduced by the propagandists of this scheme, as illustrating the manner a portion of society, embracing all classes and conditions as they stand in this densely peopled country, could be transported, or rather transplanted, to a new land without injury or derangement. But our poetical reasoners have failed in applying the simile to its full extent; grown trees can only be transported successfully at an expense so great as to render them, not objects of utility, but merely the idle-pet freaks of those who possess ampler means than mind to apply these means to useful purposes. In like manner could the removal of a section of society be effected only at a cost immeasurably disproportioned to the colonial value of the section. Besides, they have entirely omitted Sir Henry's *prerequisites*—circumstantial adaptation. A section of close forest, with all its longitude of fragile spray-adornment, removed from its warm protected site to the bare exposed side of a mountain, would be torn up by the roots, or reduced to splintered havoc, by the first storm, or be withered by the scorching drought from the thinness of the skin, and from the inadequate supply of moisture from the roots—the *roots* being disproportioned in this locality to the great extension of *top*. I leave the fanciful to pursue the parallel.

Although it is neither desirable nor economical to remove sections of society as they stand in this old, densely peopled country, many of the members of which are totally destitute of the necessary stamina and independent tone of mind, and although work-

\* See Quarterly Review, article by Sir Walter Scott.



ing small capitalists, are, by their habits and previous occupations, the best suited for new settlers; yet is the emigration of the aristocratic class, at least the high-spirited portion of them, desirable. Many of these are the descendants of men who have gradually emerged from the mass of the community by some superiority;\* and such as have not a sufficient revenue, precluded at home, by the conventional rules of society, from engaging in industrial employments, have not the means of supporting a family. They see the degradation to which the industrial classes are subjected in this country. They are too proud to drudge in another man's field and be his election serf. State places and pensions, from present prospects, are not likely to be a very abundant crop for the future. The army and navy (*active service*) are not reproductive employments, at least as things have been regulated hitherto; and should they go to India, the stamina of the race sustains certain injury. Thus it is that a fine body of our fellow subjects, partly from pride and the influence of factitious wants and prejudices (true Malthusian checks), partly from honourable independent feeling, are totally lost to the empire, as well as industrial agents as reproducers. Emigration to a temperate healthy country like New Zealand is their only judicious resource, and a sprinkling of this class, should they leave their besetting sins behind, might be useful in diffusing the elegancies of social intercourse.

\* World-going 'superiority;' not unfrequently a consequence of superior selfishness as well as of superior energy and forethought. Superiority in intellectual and moral perception in tidelicacy of sentiment, in benevolence and humanity, is a distinct affair, and often a bar to worldly advancement.



It would be refreshing—it would elevate our opinion of the British aristocracy, to see a considerable number of this class have the moral courage to choose Spartan exertion to Persian indulgence ; burst their fetters asunder, and start forward to act a manly part as emigrants to New Zealand. I cannot conceive any feeling more delightful than the heart-bound of joy of the bird when it breaks from the mortal fascinations of the serpent,—than what one of this class must experience when he breaks clear of those destructive, conventional, ideal agencies, by which he has been spell-bound, and embarks to become an independent settler in a new country. He ascends to the patriarchal rank ; the toils and the privations of what are called comforts are felt only to be despised. He commences a life of utility. The improved country around him is doubly his own—he has purchased it from nature by his labour. He enjoys the proud feeling that he subsists by his own honourable exertion. He looks forward to a gradual but certain improvement of condition, and that his family after him, without being indebted to patron or pension-list, will have a competency of their own, and be engaged in the most healthy, agreeable, and independent occupations. But to revert to the consideration of the “sufficient price” scheme.

In laying the foundations of an empire, in planning the frame-work of a new society, we should allow no old world rubbish to enter into the composition of the modern structure.\* Things must not be

\* It is to be hoped that the accumulated rubbish of centuries, constituting our English law, especially that relating to land-tenures, will not be sent out. This is even very desirable in an



made subservient to the luxurious existence of a particular class, a state alike pernicious to themselves and injurious to others. Even the production of the greatest wealth must be considered second to the production of *man*—his well-being, morally and physically, and his progression to a superior nature.

Hitherto legislation, the work of individuals or bodies of a particular class, has been selfishly and ignorantly conducted in reference to the advantage of that class who do not form the tithe of humanity. By the proposed regulations for colonization, the same system, the rendering the many subservient to the luxurious existence of the few, may be aimed at,—rather indirectly—half unconsciously under cover of procuring the *necessary* combinable labour by the “sufficient price.” Of the utility of this plan we must therefore judge the more guardedly, as we are disposed to be biassed by its seeming conveniency to the leading class, by the advantage it would afford us of a means of procuring an earthly paradise without personal exertion,—at the cost of the labour of others; forgetting that we, or at least our descendants, in a very few generations, thus situated, would sink victims to the very luxury we so much covet. In the mild delicious climate of North New Zealand, luxury is much more to be dreaded than in the cold bracing climate of the North of Europe, and is still more dangerous, as what is termed the useful arts and civilization become more advanced.

The causes of the rise and decline of empires, and economic point of view. A vessel as large as the Great Western would not suffice to carry one-half of the rubbish itself, and the tonnage of its pestilent tail it is impossible to estimate.



the sapping advances of luxury, have not met with the attention which the importance of the subject demands. It is chiefly upon the non-operative classes that luxury has exerted an influence to paralyze national energy. The manual-labour classes are not materially affected, but in so far as being rendered proportionally more of a city and in-door working population, and having their varied powers curtailed by high division of labour ; and under the American system of the same individual being property-holder and labourer, and well educated, no decline is to be expected, but a steady progressive rise. As the decline of national energy has been chiefly owing to the effeminacy of the non-operative classes, and not a little to the enervating disjunction of mental and physical labour, every thing tending to regulate this in a new colony becomes of the highest importance.\*

A great mistake is prevalent regarding the utility of combined labour in raising rural produce in temperate climates from seeing the practice of this country (a consequence of high-rented land, cheap labour, and abundant capital), and from observing the necessity of combined labour in our manufactories, and also in the raising of some tropical products, in both of which the assistance of expensive machinery is needed, and where very extensive establish-

\* How this can best be guarded against in any country by legislative enactments, is indeed the great problem. Certainly not by fixing down the human mind in superstition-chains, and should it at all be exercised, breaking it to move in a circumscribed circle, like a horse in the manege-lounge. The cultivation of the human species in reference to a capacity of modification and progression to a superior nature is the leading question in modern philosophy.—See Appendix, Note H.



ments, are the most economical. The example of New South Wales, where the system of master and servants, or rather master and slaves, has, from the nature of the establishment (a penal colony), been necessarily adopted, seems also to have led to the opinion, that the industry of the other settlements of Australia and New Zealand, though non-penal, could be regulated most economically and advantageously under the same division of labour, master and servants. It ought, however, to be kept in mind, that, in the non-slave portion of America (the only case in point), this division is at least not in usual practice, and that these States are progressing faster in population and wealth than any others have done within the records of history.

The productiveness of combined agricultural labour in Britain being very much greater than of the uncombined in France and Ireland, is not a case in point, as it bears relation only to old densely peopled countries, and to a state of extreme division of land. The very minute division in France and Ireland, renders it impossible to work the ground cheaply in proportion to the produce, very few of the divisions being of the extent to give constant employment to *a family*, assisted by sufficient bestial and implements. The extent of farm cannot support a plough-team, and in consequence, much of the labour is to be performed by the spade,—a very unproductive disposal of labour. Besides, great part of their time must necessarily be idle or broken on very minute tasks. In new countries there is always sufficient scope for the full labour of a family, and a plough-team is generally within their compass.



In new settlements, the same person being owner of property, master and workman, he derives a double, or rather a triple income,—the profits of capital, the profits of superintendence, and the profits of labour; and, in consequence, is not constrained to the same severity of bodily labour as the European operative, who, for the most part, is only in the receipt of the profits of labour; he enjoys the means of a fuller subsistence than the European, his children are more numerous and healthier, while, at the same time, a better balance of the human powers, mental and corporeal, is kept up, and the man is a nobler being. The practical shrewdness of the American Yankee is the natural consequence of this. As soldier, sailor, statesman, economist, he bears the palm away. This effect is not limited to the individual. Capacity is transmissive, as the general rule, by descent, it goes on increasing from generation to generation, and becomes characteristic of race. The extent to which it may progress it is impossible to estimate.

In new countries, it is not altogether from an inordinate desire to be their own masters, or to be land-owners, that combined, hired labour is not generally in use, and that the cultivation of land is chiefly conducted by working families. It is partly because the hired labour, necessarily of an inferior character, and not much under the control of the master, from a variety of causes, is not so productively employed in raising grain or stock, as when the master, or rather owner, works to himself. In the case of agricultural labour, the same physical impulse or force, being better directed by the stronger mental force of the principle, will do more execution,



and, in the case of stock, the eye and hand of the owner will be still more efficient when competing with hired attention. It is because the produce of hired labour in new countries will not pay the cost of the labour, that it is not commonly employed. It is driven from the field by people working on their own account. Inasmuch as free hired labour is more effective than slave labour, so much, and even more so, is labour to self more effective than hired labour.\* In the case of raising sugar, and other products where much machinery is required, and where, to be profitable, things must be conducted on a large scale ; of course, combined labour must be had, and will be forthcoming either by co-operative or by hired labour, without especial laws to monopolize land to one class, and thus compel people, who have not a sufficient amount of capital, to serve this class at a minimum remuneration of labour.

Further, it is perfectly clear that paying a "sufficient price" for new land, or any price beyond a merely nominal one, as formally legalizing the possessive right, is of itself a positive evil ; not only exhausting the means of the settler, but also acting as a barrier to prevent working small capitalists from embarking in the undertaking who are by far the most useful class of emigrants for temperate climates, where the work is to be done by British labour,—combining hardihood, forethought, industry, economy,

\* Wherever piece-hired labour can be introduced, with proper regard to quality of work, it ought to be adopted. It is nearly one-third more efficient than time-hired labour :—it is besides one step removed from servitude, and has not the same lowering effect upon the character of the race.



and professional skill. It would also be a great means of preventing the better sort of labourers—such as could make out to subsist with some degree of comfort at home, from volunteering to be carried out, and those who did volunteer would be chiefly the idle, the unsteady, and the bad workman, who could not, or would not, procure a livelihood here.

Any considerable price,—such a price as they appear to contemplate,—such a price as renders slave labour a loss—would merely be an obstruction to working the vast and productive mine, *virgin land*, and, in practice, will be found totally incompatible with the successful and rapid progress of colonization.\*

In all cases where the produce is obtained without much land cultivation, as wool, timber, New Zealand flax, &c., a considerable price upon new land will act more especially as a great check upon the progress of a colony, and the increase of its wealth. Had the New South Wales stock-owners been obliged to purchase at the “sufficient price” all the country they pasture with their flocks, the export of wool would not now equal the one-half what it is. It will generally be found that people on the spot, when left to themselves in actual practice, accommodate matters to circumstances better than though obliged to follow strictly the directions of home economists. The wide-scattered five-mile distant farms of the

\* In regard to the colony of South Australia, it surely would be absurd to expect capitalists to resort thither to purchase a comparatively unproductive soil at one, two, or more pounds per acre, when they could obtain land in New South Wales and the United States at one-fourth the price.



Dutch Boors at the Cape were, and still are, perhaps the best adapted to the condition of that arid and poor country, and the highly successful New South Wales flock-owners have had an almost unlimited grazing country to roam over without cost. It is also worthy of remark that the South Australian colony is in effect adopting (though marring it not a little by an attempt to adhere to the "sufficient price") the plan of the Cape, which has been so much abused,—leaving extensive pasturages to be held at almost a nominal rent, between the small sold lots. Lord Glenelg, in adducing reasons why population should be condensed by a "sufficient price," forgets that other countries are totally different from Britain, or even any part of Europe, in climate and adaptation for production.

It would, perhaps, be judicious that South Africa and New Holland never were peopled much beyond a nomadic population,—at least, that the greater part of their support should continue to be derived from their herds, as droughts occur periodically, which continue for several years, entirely destroying the grain crop and grass in the more arid part of the country, and rendering it necessary to remove the herds to the hills and cooler regions. A dense population, supported by agriculture, under these visitations, would be annihilated, while a pastoral, by submitting to sacrifice a portion of their herds for subsistence, is able to preserve as much of a remainder through these disastrous times, as will soon increase to a sufficiency when a course of good seasons again come round.

Peel's Swan River affair is not a case in point



against a low price. His attempted colony failed, we may say, before it was begun—before any circumstance-suited regulations had time to develope. The Swan River affair, not properly estimated, is as much calculated to mislead as to guide aright. The failure arose from an attempt at combined labour on a great scale, without the power of enforcing obedience. Had Peel's expedition, instead of a few great masters and many servants, consisted principally of working small capitalists, trusting to their own and their family's industry, the issue would have been very different. The failures and inferior success of the earlier American colonists did not arise from the want of combinable labour, and dispersion, but from various other circumstances of which the character of the emigrants themselves was not the least:—most of them idle, profligate wanderers, they partook more of the nature of buccaneers than of steady industrious settlers.

In new settlements, where the population is comparatively scanty and scattered, it is very difficult to carry regulations into effect, which are contrary to the real or supposed interests of a considerable portion of the community. Were the price of unoccupied land so high, as to prevent labourers from becoming landholders, should they so incline, it would cause so great discontent, as prove very injurious to the progress of the colony, if it did not ruin it altogether; and it would be impossible to prevent *squatting* to a very great extent, as it is often more profitable to keep constantly on the move, not only with flocks, but even in agriculture,—bringing in virgin-land, and cropping it till the first flush of



productiveness is exhausted, and numberless weeds generated, and then again having recourse to a new portion. The natives of New Zealand follow this course. And, in the case of the colonization of New Zealand, were the price of land to be high, it would be next to impossible to prevent emigrants, who did not possess sufficient capital to purchase from the Crown, from straying among the natives, and procuring land from them direct. It would thus act as a principle of dispersion,—as a complete barrier to the regular progress of the colony, the establishment of order throughout the country, and the judicious treatment of the native population; and if persisted in, would, in all probability, ruin the undertaking.

New Zealand, from the nature of its geographical features,—an insular and mountainous region, with some peculiarly desirable localities for commerce and agriculture, does not present the same enticement to wide dispersion (should a high government price of land not induce squatting) as the extended plains and wide undulating country of North America and New Holland, while, at the same time, a considerable supply of combinable labour will be found in the native population. Both of these tend to render the “sufficient,” or high price, less necessary in New Zealand, than it may possibly be in some other places. What is required, is some means to prevent too large districts from being engrossed by individuals on speculation, and held unproductive, injuring the neighbouring districts, and retarding the general progress of improvement. This would



be most effectually provided against by a low annual land-tax per acre.

A “sufficient” high price,—sufficient to produce combinable labour to the extent contemplated, must act by lowering the condition of the labour-population to a state nearly parallel to what exists in old highly peopled countries. Like every other restriction, it will act as a preventive of labour and capital being laid out to the best advantage,—restricting the use of that great and only advantage possessed by new countries, a plentiful supply of rich virgin soil for raising raw produce. To adopt the “sufficient price” plan to the extent proposed, is merely to forego the very advantage which renders a new country so desirable to industrious men.

Mr Wakefield adduces the value of a slave in the United States being so high (about L.100), as proof that the Government price of 5s. 7d. per acre is too low, and states, that under a “sufficient price” of land, the value of a slave would be nothing, as plenty of hired labour would be had. What would this be, but, by restriction, to bring the condition of the operative free population, as low as that of a slave? The price of a slave is thus high, because the condition of a freeman is so prosperous,—the purchase of a slave, at this high price, and his support, balancing what a free operative can procure for support alone, in performing only the amount of work done by a slave. The “sufficient price” would also have a tendency to engender habits of indolence in the landholder, encourage an overbearing deportment towards the operatives, and render ma-



nual labour disreputable. Besides, should this combinable labour principle be carried so far by restrictions on the obtaining of land, as to render slaves without value, a colony in a temperate climate would be useless to Britain,—it would manufacture to itself.

No doubt, in a densely peopled country, where, from a superabundance of labour in the market, the workmen are much under the control of the masters, more agricultural work will be performed, and more spare saleable produce be obtained, when one comparatively intelligent master directs a number of mere workmen, than in the case of family-conducted farms. The economy of this labour arrangement is manifest in the grain-producing parts of Scotland and England, where farm-work is more advantageously conducted in regard to productiveness, and to distribution and expenditure of labour, than, perhaps, in any other part of the world. But even, were this labour arrangement equally economical in new countries, which it is not, would this state of things be desirable—that nine-tenths of the agricultural population should be retained as mere labour-drudges; their rational and moral-perceptive powers extremely limited, without any spark of intellectuality, which a cultivated mind can have fellow-feeling with, while the master himself is only cultivated in agricultural knowledge and worldly selfishness, with few other aspirations than merely to take the most labour out of his servants, and most grain from off his rented fields, both being mere slaves to a landlord class.

It surely is not this state of society that we can



desire to see implanted in New Zealand—that the many should be slaves to labour, and the few slaves to luxury? It is not how most labour can be accomplished by fewest workmen (however degraded drudges these may be rendered), that we wish to ascertain, and direct our legislative measures to effect; but how an independent, high-spirited, high-principled, intellectual, rational community can best be produced—a community having their muscular energies developed by moderate labour, their mental energies developed by education, social intercourse, and self-direction. But the truth is, what they contemplate can never be effected by legislative enactments, at least such a state of things in respect to combinable labour as exists in the mother country, cannot be brought about in new colonies by any thing short of actual slavery. What Lord Glenelg states to be possible, is morally impossible—“The natural tendency of the population to spread,” in an extensive unpeopled country, which he says may be prevented, cannot be prevented, and to persist in attempting it by a high (sufficient) price scheme, will merely interfere with the healthy colonization, and damage the enterprize.

Although the utility and even practicability of the “sufficient price,” to the extent of its proposed application, be neither deducible by theoretic argument nor supported by experiment or facts, and the working of the scheme impossible, should the price far exceed the government price of land of equal quality in the United States and the other colonies, yet a fixed price, not too high—say from 5s. to 10s.



per acre, will, no doubt, be found advantageous in several ways; to a certain extent, perhaps, in obtaining a certain amount of combinable labour as a prevention of improper grants and partialities in the allotments by the Government, as a check upon large tracts of land being taken and retained in a state of unproductiveness (this last could best be prevented by a low land-tax); but it is more particularly as a means of producing funds for carrying out labouring emigrants that a price upon new land is so desirable. It affords a beautiful provision for this; and the amount of price ought to be regulated chiefly in regard to producing an adequate fund—*sufficiently low, as if possible to command the desired amount of sales, and encourage the emigration of the most useful class of colonists, working small capitalists.* The prosperity of the colony will very much depend upon a considerable portion of the emigrants being of this class.

It would not, however, be judicious to expend the whole of the proceeds of the sale of new lands in carrying out emigrant-labourers; a part should be allotted to supporting the emigrants after their arrival in the new country, and should be employed in paying their labour in road-making and other works of general improvement. It is, therefore, not to be expected that enough will be obtained from the sale of colonial lands to carry out the whole of the superabundant population of the mother country, but it is to be hoped that the home legislature will see the utility of appropriating a portion, or the whole of the poor-rates to make up the deficit to this rational



plan of relieving and preventing poverty. Many of those so carried out will be disposed to labour for hire or to carry on their particular trades, should that hire or trade-gain exceed what they could obtain by cultivating themselves. This is the natural and legitimate principle of procuring combined labour. All others partake of the quality of slavery, and if carried to any extent, will not be submitted to by free enlightened Britons.

The Directors of the South Australian colony have adopted a plan, which, while it actually carries into practice a very low price of land, still nominally adheres to the sufficient price, or rather high restrictive price. The first settlers on a territory of about 1,000,000 acres, have purchased only a small frontage or central lot, each about 134 acres in extent, at 12s. per acre, and for each lot of this size they have received two square miles (1280 acres) of adjacent pasturage, at an annual rent of 10s. per square mile (less than one farthing per acre), and after settlers were to pay one pound or two pounds (the parliamentary act does not permit a less price per acre) for each frontage lot of eighty acres, and for each lot to receive two square miles of pasturage at 40s. per square mile (three farthings per acre) of annual rent. A power to sell these rented pasturages at or above the fixed minimum price (one pound per acre) is retained, and to withdraw them from the lessees should a purchaser be found ; but, it is evident that, except in the case of any of these pasturages becoming the site of a town, there is little chance of their meeting a purchaser, at least in an



unimproved state, while lots are to be bought a little further on of 80 or 134 acres, at the same price, with the advantage of two square miles of pasturage attached, at a mere nominal rent. This juggle of keeping up a high nominal price has been adopted from sheer necessity; the minimum selling price, in submission to an untried theory, having been fixed too high (one pound per acre) by act of Parliament, and it being impossible to obtain purchasers at so high a rate.

This expediency stratagem must, however, be attended with the most injurious consequences to the colony. Pasture is equally susceptible of improvement and deterioration, as tillage-land. In Australia, keeping the grass too bare by overstocking, gradually ruins the soil (the drought and ardent sun totally dissipating the vegetable pabulum from the exposed earth), and the lessee, no doubt, will treat his pasturage, so as to encourage no purchaser.\* *Thus a premium exists against the improvement of about  $\frac{1}{3}$ ths of the country.* As pasturage is the chief purpose for which land will be employed in South Australia, this deserves the serious attention of the Directors and of the Legislature. The necessity of departing from the present system, and of disposing of the land, at least all the good improvable land,

\* By the regulations, the tenant is debarred from tillage, and from cutting the timber—in that part of New Holland, mostly stunted or useless brushwood (*scrub*), which interferes with the growth of the pasture, and harbours flies, that greatly harass the herds and flocks. How far it may be necessary to keep up forest cover, to induce moisture, seems not to have been thought of.



straight forward and outright, at such a price as command sales, is clearly manifest.

In the allotting, care ought to be taken to have the divisions as much as possible of one value per acre; and if this is impracticable, the allotments ought to be distinguished by first, second, and third quality, with a suitable difference of price.



## CHAPTER XVI.

## COLONIAL LEGISLATION.

In this country, hitherto, the laws have been subservient to the interests of the lawyer, Government to the interests of the Government officials (servants of the public!) fully as much as for the protection of person and property, even where the people may be thought to have some controul over the Legislature. In our colonies, the chance is still greater, that the interests of civil and military officials, the delegated authorities of the mother country, will prevail over the interests of the colonists. Colonial is, besides, the most difficult of all legislation. They who legislate primarily in the mother country, independent of not being sufficiently responsible, are deficient of information regarding those for whom they legislate, wanting in sympathy, and not under the influence of a common interest, at least directly. The affair is also rendered much more complex, from the regulations being directed towards bodies not only under very different circumstances, but individually under progressive change. What renders colonial legislation more difficult still is, that, unless the enactments are very clear and simple in practice, they are sure to be imperfectly followed, from the distance of the mother country, and the defects of



her agents. \* There is also a want of precedent for our legislators to walk by, and to guide them in judging of practical results, colonial legislation being as yet only in the infancy of improvement.

In laying down legislative rules for colonies, it must be kept in view, that nothing is so paralyzing and injurious as despotism. It is impossible that the proportions of the child can develop into grandeur and beauty, when every member of its body is so cramped and confined by bandages, that it cannot move. It is better to allow as much of self-direction as is compatible with absolute safety, and even, that it should get a little teaching from rubs and falls, rather than its rising energies should be checked or destroyed by over-maternal direction.

It would therefore be desirable, that a colonial legislative assembly should be formed at the commencement—perhaps with gradually increasing powers, and that, as in Prussia, they should act as a council to the governor, only recommending what they considered necessary measures. The governor, when he did not carry these measures into effect, to remit them, with his reasons of dissent, to the home legislature, or Government. It would also be necessary to organize an elective judicial establishment, to determine of civil disputes, and petty criminal offences. Perhaps it might do well for every ten householders (the country being divided into districts) triennially to elect a preses, or justice of the peace, and that all disputes, petty crimes, &c., should be decided upon, in the district, by a local court, consisting of a certain number of these justices, with power of appeal under certain limitations, to the supreme



court. Educational matters, roads, bridges, &c., could be under the same management; and the legislative member could be chosen also by a certain number of these, much after the fashion of the Norwegian double elective system. This plan would have simplicity to recommend it, and might be so worked, as save a great deal of litigation, and labour, to the supreme court, which, although, perhaps, not desiderated by that court, is not the less a desideratum to the colonists. It might be a great improvement upon this, to have a *Reconciliator* (a person well instructed in equity law, with good persuasive powers, paid by Government) appointed to each district. And all disputants to come before the Reconciliator, and endeavour, with his assistance, to settle the subject in dispute, before it could be brought into the local court.

The cost and efficiency of governments are very improperly estimated. The expense of the government is often small in proportion to the expense incurred to protect person and property, or to the loss sustained from injuries and depredations, which a good government would prevent, and almost nothing compared to the loss which defective laws and injudicious taxation occasions, by obstructing improvements. The cost of law, and lawyers, should always be estimated as government expenses, and added to the sum-total. Estimated in this way, some of the *cheap* governments of the United States would rank among the most expensive. It is, therefore, of great importance that the judicial courts be put under the simplest, cheapest, and most efficient plan.



Free (not despotic) judicial government is practicable in two ways, either by much written precedent, and an expensive legal (judge) establishment, with numerous attorneys, as in Britain, and the United States, or by a local elective judicial system (elected arbitrators). The latter is well fitted to a thin population, and, assisted by a clear short comprehensive code, could be worked to dispense justice, almost without cost. This system would require a free press, and seems hitherto to have been very imperfectly tried. It has met with favour neither from governors nor lawyers, affording neither patronage nor plunder, nor food for official nor corporate pride. Disputes might be as justly, and far more economically, settled by this elective arbitrator scheme, assisted by the Reconciliator, on the spot, without lawyer assistance, than in the usual way. Injustice might sometimes occur, from the want of lawyers, but not to the tenth part of the amount which occurs with them. For what is all law expense in disputed property, but injustice? To make this plan work well, dispute and litigation would require to be legislated against directly, by fines upon those who were *frequently* engaged in them, especially being losers, and a register kept of the cases of each individual. The effect of simplicity, and the arbitration scheme, combined with the exclusion of bad subjects, has been lately exemplified in Russia. A number of small working capitalists, solicited, and received the grant of a desolate hilly portion of country, from the Emperor. They divided this into portions of about sixty acres of tillage-land, with a suitable portion of hill-pasture, to each family; al-



lowing no one to enter the community, unless he possessed a certain capital, and totally excluding lawyers and priests. The consequences, as reported by a recent traveller, have been highly advantageous,—the success beyond all precedent. No quarrels, high morality, industry, economy,—the country cultivated like a garden,—plenty to all.

There is a pressing necessity for a change of system in our colonial policy. The connection between the superior country and its dependencies must be rendered of such a nature as to incline the latter to cling to the former for self-advantage. The internal colonial laws, as well as the laws regulating the connection, ought to be liberalized, and put on a definite secure footing. The internal government of every colony should be, as much as possible, worked by the inhabitants of the place, and the few necessary to be deputed by the superior country, men of practical knowledge and cultivated minds. Hitherto the officials of our colonies have, many of them, not been of the best description,—the working portion generally underbred clerks, and the show portion, younger sons of the aristocracy, often deficient in energy, and in necessary practical information and business habits.\*

The practice, partly originating in our long wars, of employing soldiers and sailors as governors of colonies, is also of very questionable policy. It tends to give a military character,—a character of idleness and parade,—to the society of the place, which is not promotive of industry and the advancement of commerce

\* In some countries of the continent, government is made a particular profession, and men educated expressly for the purpose.



and agriculture.\* It has also an influence, notwithstanding the urbanity of military manners, to alienate the attachment of the colonists from the mother country. Military, bred to the implicit-obedience principle, unless they are men of superior minds, have not always that respect to the opinions and liberties of the colonists which other men, accustomed to act as free independent subjects, would have, and when disputes arise, either between the aborigines and colonists, or with the neighbouring tribes, military governors are rather more disposed to resort to their own particular mode of adjusting matters than what is conformable to civil justice or profitable; forgetful of the fable of the wind and the sun, that kindness warmly and wisely exerted will do more to melt down angry passions, and remove opposition, than brute force would—that moral is superior to physical power, “as three to one.”—(Napoleon.)

There is something highly impolitic and altogether barbarous in the exhibition of compulsory force,—of a governor appearing surrounded by officials, the chiefs of armed bands. This is calculated to give an impression to the people of the dependent country, that they live under abject subjection, more especially, when they are of a different origin, and have been attached by conquest. There is something in the temper of men, when their minds have become elevated one step above the slavish admiration of

\* It is, perhaps, worthy of remark that manufacturing industry has several times been attempted in Edinburgh and Leith without success. The character of the population receives a bias from the many law practitioners and resident gentry which unfits them for industrial pursuits.



mere power, which bristles in opposition, at the display of rude force,—which refuses to obey the command of any one with arms in his hands. There is, no doubt, also, among civilians, a feeling of jealousy towards military men, arising from a combination of causes, which prevents a generous and liberal line of policy, on the part of the latter, from having the same beneficial effect it would have emanating from civil authority. Military should be kept in the best state of preparation; they should not be concealed; they ought to be respected as the conservators of the peace, as the national defence; but they ought not to appear purposely exhibited to overawe the community. The strength of the government should repose on utility and justice, and not be upheld by foreign bayonets. With civil governors, in case of any misunderstanding between the government and the colonists, and the military require to be called out, they will not so likely be held party to the dispute, and thence will have far more influence in putting down the disturbance. They will be considered only the necessary upholders of the law, as peace-keepers, and be yielded to as such. Military, employed in colonies, should consist, at least in part, of the natives of the place: this is important to the attachment of the colony.

Military despotism, upheld by a foreign soldiery, is the most degrading and injurious of all. When only the military force of the country itself is acting to keep up mal-government, things cannot go very far wrong, as a crisis would soon ensue, and the dread of this is generally an effectual check on the authorities. But when a crushing tyranny, in an in-



ferior country, is upheld and carried on by the overpowering military force of a vastly superior country, there is scarcely any check or limit to the evil.

The Government of Prussia is a case in point, exemplifying the powerful and salutary effect of this check. This government, generally considered a military despotism, is perhaps the best and freest in Europe. The military are not military in the common sense of the word (a caste with separate interests and feelings), but a disciplined national guard, comprehending every male from nineteen to a few years upwards. The Prussian Parliaments only advise what they consider proper to be done, and although the government be nominally absolute, yet, being aware that the whole of the male population are bred to arms, and that all the youth of the country have arms in their hands, it generally makes out to pursue the very course most beneficial to the community, and improvement of all kinds is making most rapid strides. It is, in fact, a government despotic to do good, powerless to do evil. On the contrary, in Canada, where military men have been well tried, without standing in much fear of a crisis, however near, we have had a vast national expenditure and improvement standing still,—nothing progressive but discontent. The most unbiassed travellers represent the two sides of the St Lawrence as very different—the United States' side all activity, industry, frugality—neat farm-buildings, decent cattle, fair corn-fields. On the Canadian side, idleness, dissipation, neglect, farm buildings frequently ruinous, starved cattle, corn-fields where thistles are the predominating crop. This, no doubt,



is attributable to a combination of causes, but the military character of the colony has had its effects.

The only advantage possessed by military men, is that they are schooled in organization of a certain kind, and in the care of others, and that they generally have the benefit of travel. As it is, men of the highest ability and character arise amongst them, but as a class, they are not well fitted for governors of any place but military stations. It may be asked, "where are better to be found;—surely not petty-fogging lawyers?" But the diffusion of knowledge will generate suitable men in all classes, and when military men of superior qualifications appear, if they are nominated to a government, they should renounce the employment of arms.

Nothing is so much called for as a proper colonial code, or system of codes, comprehensively applying to our wide and extending colonial Empire, but sufficiently condensed for practical use. The formation of this code might be given out by Parliament as a prize effort, with a high reward for that which it shall approve. This is surely as necessary as the premium offered for approaching the North Pole, or for a plan of a new meeting-house for Parliament. Were a good system of colonial government adopted, islands and inferior states would find it their interest to unite with us, and the whole of the multitudinous island-groups scattered over the vast Pacific, in number as the constellations of the heavens, might become incorporated as part of the British empire.







## APPENDIX.

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### NOTE A.

#### *Misery of the Working Classes.*

Foreign demand being almost destroyed by their diabolical monopoly duties, it is obvious that a sudden great increase of production-power by improved machinery, &c. though constituting an improved labour-field, must, in the first place, occasion a labour-glut and low wages, but it nevertheless might have been expected that the demands of the community for increased comforts and luxuries, as they became thus attainable by less expense of labour, would go on extending, so as nearly to keep pace with the increase of production, and prevent any permanent falling off of labour-demand, especially as there is no lack of capital (hoarded provision-supply for the workmen during the time they are occupied in raising the raw material, or fabricating it to suit the wants of the community), and that there is also an immense revenue derived from British lands and foreign investments of capital.



This deficiency of labour-demand is, in some degree, owing to vast numbers of British being induced by the corn-bill, and high taxed articles of consumpt in Britain, to reside on the continent; and from capital getting into large masses, and the holders not expending their revenue in this country, but accumulating it, and lending it out in foreign investment, where a more productive field enables higher interest to be given (an accumulation partly owing to the spirit of modern society being opposed to feudal display and numerous menial retainers). The effects of these causes are, however, less important than the direct effects of machinery, as the great field of consumption lies in the working population themselves. Superior machinery has, in the first place, lessened the demand for their labour; wages have fallen, and they must of necessity be but sparing consumers. This again reacts still farther to lessen the demand, and the consumption of the owners or fabricators of the machinery does not nearly compensate. It would also seem that the paralysis arises partly from the derangement of the labour-system by the improved machinery; vast numbers having been trained to employments which are now altogether or nearly superseded, while there is perhaps a deficiency of workmen properly trained to the new practice. The manufacturing or producing system is thus out of sorts, and, coupled with the narrowed field of industry caused by our restrictive system, produces a labour-glut, low wages, working-class misery—a sufficient emigration would be an effectual remedy.

But our advocates of restriction and home mono-



polies exclaim — Why export workmen when so much improvement can still be made in Britain? Why import food and raw produce while we have full capacities of growing enough at home? Were Great Britain properly cultivated it would produce double what it now produces. The answer is, It is not what Britain is capable of producing, but what it in reality will be made to produce, which concerns us. Further improvement, and even the keeping up of the improvement already effected, depend upon the returns of the capital employed. If from the less exhausted field for production abroad, we can obtain ten per cent. per annum for capital, while from the more exhausted, restriction-limited field at home, we can obtain only four per cent., capital will continue to be exported and British improvement will languish, or things will retrograde. This is the actual state of matters, and unless means are taken to bring about a more salutary state, the improvements they look forward to, and which Britain is indeed susceptible of, will never be attained. By a properly conducted colonization, in the first place, diminishing the labour-supply, and acting as a stimulus to our labour-market, and afterwards affording a continually increasing stimulus by means of the new-created, fast-extending colonial field of demand for British manufactures, and all this working in mutual reaction to excite industry, we may in reality go on improving till Britain produce ten times over what she now produces.



## NOTE B.

*Radical Charity.*

Common charity (alms-giving) is much of an aristocratical thing, and has been the means of rivetting the chains of indirect slavery. Surrounding poverty is necessary to the existence of, at least accompanies, the very rich man—if it is not necessary to his enjoyment. There is a luxury in giving,—in being in a condition to give gratuitous relief to the poor. The emotion is of a mixed character, arising partly from doing what he is so much taught to believe is a good deed, partly from gratified human sympathy, and partly from gratified pride and display of generosity, so flattering to self-love. At any rate we find the rich man much more disposed to afford momentary relief to the poor by alms-giving than to afford permanent relief by searching into the causes of misery, and adopting a system of prevention. The *truly* charitable, on the contrary, will always endeavour to afford relief to the necessitous in the least onerous way,—in the way least calculated to injure or destroy self-reliance, impair industry, or lower the honest pride of independence. He, in all practicable cases, will give relief by giving employment, and will endeavour to give such employment as make a return to himself, so as to enable him to lay out an equal or larger sum on the morrow in continuing the employment (alms-giving, which squanders on the idle that which should be won by the industrious, and which maketh no return, precludes the doing of this)—or he will lend a little friendly as-



sistance to the industrious, as a commencing stock that they may still more advantageously procure employment to themselves. The providently charitable will endeavour to reform the laws which repress the industry of the country, and which prevent the diffusion of useful information, and thus enable his fellow men to employ themselves in such a manner as render them independent of all charity.

The rich man, however, likes to do good in a lordly manner ; he prefers doing it directly to indirectly, that the recipient may feel the obligation ; he loves also to gratify his lust of power by regulating the religious concerns of his poorer fellow subjects ; he is much more disposed to build churches than to build schools ; he would rather retain his fellow-men in ignorance, superstition, and misery, affording full occasion for his lordly charity, than put them in a condition to acquire knowledge, true religion, and a comfortable subsistence to themselves.

Providence, the reverse of this, works by wholesome general laws—does not give in charity—does not give for the asking, but for the doing—does not interpose by miracles to obstruct the working of these general laws, which would confound wisdom with folly, industry with idleness, and render all knowledge of, and obedience to these laws, of no avail. The rich man's charity is an unnatural offence, a human interposition counteracting the laws of providence ; yet is it necessary that the victims of our pernicious laws, opinions, and customs be in some way cared for, till a salutary system has begun to work. The working-man hates charity ; he would prefer starvation to receiving the landlord's alms, or



any alms. All he wants is a fair field and no favour—that the landlord should not rob him of the one-half of his earnings, or throw him entirely out of employment by diabolically selfish legislation. Our British landlord doles out his petty alms, congratulating himself on his goodness,—like a bee-feeder supplying a little coarse sugar and water, or sweet worts, to a hive which he has deprived of the honey,—their natural support.

It has been considered necessary that some degree of misery or want of comfort should be the lot of poverty and pauperism, as a stimulus to industry and motive for frugality. It is well when only the dread of want and the desire to obtain the comforts of life are the stimuli or motives, but it too frequently is the actual want of the necessaries of life that is so. In England, under the present inferior and narrowed field for industry and the poor law, actual want or the alternative of a poverty-prison is the stimulus, and surely the dread of removal from this country, if any stimulus must be present, is the one which the philanthropist would approve of, as with the advantage of a stimulus, it carries in all likelihood the effectual relief and comfort and independence of the individuals who are removed, and at the same time improves the labour-field of those who remain behind, while every other direct mode of relieving poverty only serves *to nurse up the evil and to injure the labour-field*.

It is deserving of trial, however, whether emigration, kindly and judiciously managed, could not be made to prevent altogether the occurrence of the more severe stimuli of pinching want and misery, or



even the harsh alternative of compulsory removal. Instead of removing those who applied for relief, as being unable to support themselves, it would be a far better plan to remove only those who were desirous of emigrating, and, if possible, by the advantages held out to removers, to instigate such a number to go as bring the labour field into so prosperous a condition, as that no one willing to work would require charitable support, and thus render all assistance unnecessary, excepting in the case of unlooked for accidents, and mental and bodily defects, which could perhaps be left to friendly aid.

#### NOTE C.

##### *To the British Fair.*

“The Rose of England bloomed on Gertrude’s cheek.”

The withering effects of the arid climate of Australia, is manifest in the haggard walking skeletons of the aborigines, while the balmy mildness and moist air of New Zealand exerts a directly opposite effect, evinced in the fine stately forms, smooth polished skin, and rounded beauty of the Malayan population, although they are evidently a little out of climate—so far removed from the Tropics; much more must this delicious climate have a propitious effect upon the Caucasian British race, who are naturally suited to the climate. The rose tinge of the cheek is a direct consequence of moist air of a fresh stimulating coolness. We find in Van Diemen’s Land, which approaches the New Zealand climate, that the rose of health is common, although it seldom is



so on the main of Australia, where the air is too dry and parching for this species of flower. The British Fair may rely that England's Rose will not fail to blossom in New Zealand in all its native richness, giving the unmatched tinge of flower-beauty, and freshness. The danger is, that it may even throw that of the mother country into shade; although its sister, the vegetable rose, has never been seen indigenous in the southern hemisphere, while it surrounds the globe in the northern with a flowery chaplet.

There is but a very small portion of the world where the rose-bloom is constantly domiciled on the cheek of beauty. In Asia and Africa it scarcely appears but in gleams of transient suffusion. In America it is almost equally rare, except in the New England States, the hills of Virginia, and the maritime provinces of New Brunswick, Canada, and Nova Scotia,—in the latter country the carmine blending to shades of purple and blue, and not unfrequently a little out of place; while, in the interior plains of Canada and the United States, the palor is universal. In Europe it blossoms in the cooler, aquatic, and hilly regions, wherever the air is fresh and moist,—in Britain, especially the western side,—in Ireland, Holland, Prussia, Denmark, Norway.

Were the direful effects of a summer spent in the dry parts of the south of Europe generally known, we should have less of *female* emigration to these countries. The lily and rose-leaf cheek and cherry lip of the British fair, whose purity and dewy freshness is nourished by the moist coolness of their native air, when exposed to the Levanter or Sirocco of



Italy and Spain, or even to the dry hot air of the more arid parts of France, soon shrivel to mummy and wrinkled parchment. The seclusion of beauty in Mahomedan countries, and the Mantilla of Spain, is less from jealousy of man than of the arid Eurus.

Female beauty, which under hot dry atmosphere, withers like the rock-rose “ere the noon,” in tropical countries often before the age of twenty, and in the warm parched portion of the temperate zones, before thirty, may be expected in New Zealand, provided warm fire apartments (very little needed in that climate) are not much in use, to last till nearly double that age.

Much depends upon regular and natural habits of life,—exposure to the stimulus of the sun’s light, and especially to the fresh moist air of the morning. It is customary for girls to go out gathering May-dew, to form a rose-cosmetic,—and the roses certainly appear. Airy sitting and sleeping apartments are essential, and especially to guard against exposure to dry fire heat, and, above all, against the modern abominations of heated air and gas-burners. In some parts of the north of Europe, where the climate is severe in winter, the rooms are heated by stoves, which, in order to prevent dust, open only to the lobby or passages, and consequently afford no ventilation to the rooms, but give out a close suffocating heat. The women are confined to these rooms all the year, excepting during the short warm summer, and being thus always exposed to vitiated air and high temperature, are nearly of as short duration as within the tropics; while the men, more healthy and lasting from greater exposure out of doors and



cooler atmosphere, say they require two sets of wives. In the mild climate of New Zealand, where the houses are scarcely needed but to guard off showers, the beau-sex passing most of their time in open air, and the remainder in well ventilated apartments, will not have this contingency much to fear. *In other respects*, from its soft moist climate, New Zealand like Sicily may be expected to be especially propitious to women.—The prospects now before them must cause the bright blood to mantle deeper on the cheek of the British Fair.

#### NOTE D.

##### *Land-Property Right.*

Cultivation-labour laid out upon land constitutes the best property right. Pasturing of flocks comes next in place. The property right in uncultivated land by aborigines, who subsist only by preying upon the *feræ naturæ*, is defective ; and this is more especially so, when the aborigines are sunk so low in barbarism, as to be incapable of instituting a regular government to protect property. Any person, though produced in another region, being equally a child of nature, if he has no other way of procuring a sufficient maintenance to support him, as his father has lived,—a reproductive vitality, has surely a right to go into the wilderness, where no one has placed his mark of possession, and cultivate a portion of it for his and his family's subsistence. But because of the feeling in the savage, of a right of



possession to the region he roams over, the sustaining of which might lead to a sacrifice of life, it is fitting that this claim be submitted to, so far as, if the savage can be induced to sell a portion of his territory, to purchase it; but if he will not sell, or if the desiring occupant has no means of obtaining funds to purchase with, then he has the right to take possession as he may.

The same holds of masses of people. A nation which, by the establishment of social order, and the advanced arts of life, increases in population beyond the means of a full subsistence, within its own territory, has a right to extend itself over the uncultivated regions of the earth; and, should this not be otherwise accomplishable, to displace the miserable hordes of wandering savages, who can neither bring out the powers of productiveness of the country they roam over, nor submit to the social order amongst civilized men.

It is sickening to listen to the affectations of pseudo-philanthropists, who make such a lament over the loss of a tribe of starved savages, such as once existed in Newfoundland, while they are silent respecting the hundreds of thousands of fine men and women (a far superior race) in London, and other places of Britain, who are equally lost to reproductive existence, and becoming extinct from the abridged means of procuring a family subsistence, caused by the increasing density of population in the narrow territory of Britain. The nation or tribe is made up of individuals,—totally distinct beings; and I should like to have explained, the moral difference between the extirpation,—extinction without



reproduction, of a number of individuals, although *not constituting* the entire nation or tribe, and the extirpation of an equal number of individuals *constituting* the entire nation or tribe,—both taking place in a gradual manner.

#### NOTE E.

##### *Native Race adaptation.*

Colonization in South Africa is merely a change of races. The Aborigines, before the entrance of the Europeans, seemed nearly balanced to the means of pastoral subsistence,—perhaps the only one safely applicable to the climate, from the extreme droughts sometimes causing a failure of the grain-crop for several successive years; and although the country has been settled for two centuries by Europeans, the probability is, that the population, including both races, has considerably diminished, notwithstanding a constant immigration. Besides the advantage is at least questionable, of substituting a race, though high in civilization, very defective in circumstantial adaptation, for one, in a wonderful degree, (almost as much as the bulbous character of the plants), circumstance-suited:—so much so, that one would infer the race and the climate had grown up together.

Whilst laws existed, retaining the natives within the colony in bondage, and promoting commando-expeditions against the free aborigines, for the purpose of slaughtering the grown-up, and carrying off



the children for slaves, the aborigines were fast being extirpated. Now that laws of a very different character are enacted, and a just and humane system encouraged by our present Colonial Secretary, it may be expected, should this system be continued, that the circumstance-suited race will again increase, and by superior producing and subsisting powers, the result of superior climate-adaptation, gradually undermine their invaders, and become the predominating population. In cases where two races exist in a country, under any thing approaching to equal law, it is not the most moral or most civilized which increases the fastest, or which will ultimately prevail. This is being exemplified in Ireland, and in Great Britain, where the Milesian race is fast gaining ground, and also in Hungary, where the Sclavonic race is gradually overwhelming the Magyar, by superior powers of encrease. In both cases the conquered are reconquering, although lower in the scale of civilization.

## NOTE F.

*Tobacco Smoking.*

Sucking tobacco smoke has become so general, and is indulged in to such excess, as must have a powerful effect upon the destinies of the species. In the north and east of Europe, it has increased to such a degree, as to act as a considerable population check; and I would desire to introduce it to the notice of our Malthusian philosophers.

The disposition, or desire to suck, is no doubt in-



stinctive—a baby reminiscence,—and increased in the north of Europe, by the practice of suckling their male children too long. It is pity, that this disposition or instinct to suck, were not made subservient to some good, and that so much combustion did not extend to the diffusion of heat and light, as well as smoke,—that it could not be made to warm their cold bosoms to freedom, or enable them to illuminate the “dark side of nature,” instead of veiling it further by transcendental cloud. Our Eastern neighbours are no doubt indebted to the demon of the “accursed weed,” set loose by the combustion, for their dreamy philosophy, and their philosophic submission to despotic government. At the present time the weed-demon is the engrossing god of their idolatry. Every dwelling is converted into a temple, filled with burnt-incense, and every man (the ladies, it seems, have not souls worth a devil’s notice) are daily and hourly worshippers.

Although tobacco smoking has not so immediately obvious an effect upon the system, as drinking intoxicating liquors, yet from its influence being in more general and constant operation, it has comprehensively, as regards the species, a more powerful impression to disorder the brain mechanism, and derange the flow of the galvanic nervous currents, on which depends the character of our intellectual essence, and organic frame. It is impossible to raise the veil from futurity; but notwithstanding the discovery of printing, instead of a progression to a superior nature, a condition of imbecility and degradation is yet in store for man,—nay even a sinking in the scale of being, unless means are taken to



subvert the worship of the weed-demon. It is rather surprising, that our New Zealand Missionaries have allowed themselves to be hood-winked by the subtile fiend, and made subservient in spreading his abominable rites.

In New South Wales, in the case of convict-slavery (the most pitiful condition of all), where *civilized* man is subjected to the thrall of his fellow man, and where the feeling of degradation is embittered by the sting of guilt, tobacco-smoking may be necessary. It is even said, that great numbers of the convicts would commit suicide, or take to the bush, if they did not receive tobacco to drown conscience and thought. It also tends to enable our over-worked operatives to support their miserable condition ; but in this last case it acts as a powerful check upon this class taking effectual means to procure the abolition of the grinding monopoly, and excessive taxation, which cause the misery. Tobacco-smoking is a means of soothing misery, and repressing energy, by inducing a dreamy stupefaction.

#### NOTE G.

##### *The British Navy.*

It is in vain, at least for any purpose of utility, that we keep up an immense establishment of naval officers at an enormous cost, while a sufficient number of our war-vessels are not in active employment to give an experience of naval business to those pensioned, land-bred sea-commanders. Common sailors.



bred in the merchant service, with a very short training in discipline and artillery practice, can be made efficient war seamen. But unless merchantmen commanders are to be employed as officers in the war-navy upon the emergency of war, some other breeding than what is now followed is necessary to obtain proper experienced sea-officers. Mere experimental and pleasure voyages of our few men-of-war in commission will not give the experience and hardihood necessary to form good officers, and which actual industrious naval business is best fitted to give; besides, the small number of vessels in commission is out of all proportion to the immense number of officers in commission.

We ought to imitate the economy of nature. In her operations we frequently find a binary adaptation of means to ends; a useful purpose effected by means admirably fitted to the immediate desired end, while the same means are also instrumental in effecting another end, though more remote, no less desirable than the more immediate. It would be well to have a considerable number of men-of-war and frigates, with only a part of their guns aboard, and a sailing complement of picked seamen and young volunteers constantly employed in carrying out emigrants; these could have the full complement of young officers gaining experimental instruction, besides a considerable number of cadet volunteers employed in assisting the sailors in working the vessel, from which our naval-officer corps might be in part recruited. This would prove an excellent school, under proper management, for nautical knowledge—more particularly the very useful knowledge



of the best means of promoting and maintaining the health of a numerous crew in long voyages, and we would be in a much better state of preparation for any emergency.

#### NOTE H.

*Monetary System.—That the Progress of Modern Civilization has been in a great measure owing to the Depreciation of the Value of Money, consequent to working the American Mines.*

The rise and decline of *national energy* is in a high degree influenced by the decrease or increase of the value of the medium of exchange, and especially by the regulation of the paper monetary system.\* It is to these causes, especially the decrease of the value of money, that we chiefly owe the rapid progress of civilization, and of the arts of life, and the

\* It is exceedingly to be regretted that the abstractness of the subject, combined with a little misapprehension, should blind the nation to the extreme importance of the monetary system, the most pernicious effect of a rise of value of money and the injustice of the law enforcing payment or interest of debts in the present currency, which were incurred in a currency only one-half the value of what it now is. There are four propositions which I would desire my readers to fix in their minds.

1st, That gold (our present measure of value), like other commodities, is regulated in price by the demand and the supply.

2d, That a paper currency rises or falls in value like gold, in proportion as the issues are diminished or increased, or in proportion to the scarcity or abundance.

3d,



increased general prosperity in Europe since the discovery of America.\* From the American mines being very much more productive (fertile) than those of the old world, and the quantity of gold and silver brought into circulation as money, greatly exceeding even the increased demand caused by the increase of trade, the value of these metals necessarily fell from year to year, and till latterly, have been diminishing in value nearly one-half every thirty years.

The decrease of the value of money, as well as the plentifulness, operates to stimulate all kinds of industry. The manufacturer receives more money (nominally) than what he expected for his produce; the trader also receives more for the goods he has had on hand than what he has given for them, and this gain, though in both cases rather delusory, stimulates both to extend their business. Besides the agents of industry have the greater part of their capital borrowed from monied people (chiefly idlers living upon the industry of others), and as the value

3d, That when a gold currency and paper currency are both in use, and the issues of paper liable to be paid in gold, that as the paper currency cannot be far extended without throwing the gold currency out of circulation altogether, the issuers of paper are under the necessity of limiting their issues.

4th, That the less a medium of exchange costs the better, as less capital is thus abstracted from useful purposes. A paper currency thus saves to the nation the yearly interest of the amount of the issues.

\* Civilization and national prosperity are also very much influenced by the absence or presence of a sufficient circulating medium. Before the discovery of America, the circulating medium in Europe was insufficient for carrying on traffic, and the clumsy system of barter much in use.



of money diminishes, this lent capital is gradually being transferred, to the extent of the diminution of value, from the lender to the borrower :—this is obvious as the medium, whether the pound *Sterling* or guinea, by which the debt is measured, has in the interim decreased in value. The consequence of this transference is, that the industrious portion is not *taxed*, in the yearly interest of the transferred capital, to keep up idlers, and being in receipt of both the profits of capital and the profits of industry, they are thus in a condition to extend their industry,—employing more workmen, and necessarily raising wages. It is, in reality, a creation of capital to be employed in the most advantageous manner to purposes of reproduction. Thus, by the capital being gradually transferring to the industrious, from what may be termed the drones of society (unfairly it must be allowed), the industrious are put in a condition to be more industrious, and the drones are compelled to become industrious. The skilful, and active, and enterprising portion of the community, thus acquiring greater power of carrying on improvement, national prosperity, and a vast increase of national energy is the result.

Towards the end of last century, another circumstance came into operation,—a paper currency with the general use of bills. This rendered a less quantity of gold and silver necessary as a circulating medium, and thus, by diminishing the demand in Europe, the supply from the mines going on increasing, lowered the value still further, and during the latter part of the last war, when the principal portion of



the national debt was contracted, gold and silver were at the lowest value ever known.

About this time, the value of that rather vague idea the pound *Sterling* (!) was further lowered by the bank-restriction act,—the banks by act of Parliament being absolved from their liability to pay their issues in gold. This condition of things continued for upwards of twenty years, and the value of the pound *Sterling*, although dependent upon the amount of notes issued by the banks, came latterly to range about 3 pounds for 2 guineas,—the guineas themselves, as we have stated, being very much reduced in value. This great reduction of the value of the currency all the while, by still further diminishing the real value of borrowed capital, and thus lessening the burthen of the idle portion of the community upon the industrious portion, operated powerfully to benefit industry and trade, and to stimulate national energy.

Since the time of the last general peace in Europe, things have, however, taken a very different turn. The production of gold and silver by the American mines almost ceased, owing to the anarchy and destruction attending the struggle for independence, and even at this day, the production is far short of what it was when a considerable portion of the population were compelled to labour in the mines under the Spanish yoke. The demand for the precious metals, in the mean time, having rather increased in Europe from the progress of improvement attending the general peace, while the source of the supply was nearly dried up, has caused a considerable rise of the



value of gold and silver, independent of the demand resulting from the re-adoption of a metallic currency in England.

Had the bank cash-payment-restriction act been continued in Britain, and the paper issues been kept up, the industry of Britain would not have been affected by this increase of the value of gold, the only alteration would have been a greater disproportion of value between the pound *Sterling* and the guinea. But our Legislature at this most unsuitable time, most unjustifiably enacted that the banks should pay their issues in gold, at the gold price of the pound *Sterling* previous to its depreciation,—that is a pound and one twentieth for the guinea,—also preventing the circulation of notes less than five pounds in England.

These very unjust and injudicious and most unopportune monetary regulations, have had very injurious effects upon the industry of the country, causing intolerable privations and misery, and impairing the national energy in a high degree. The money lent to the nation during the wars amounting to from four to five hundred millions, the greater part of it borrowed while the value of the currency was at the very lowest, is by this unjust enactment and the increase of the value of gold, at least doubled, while, at the same time, having been borrowed upon the usurious\* plan of giving an acknowledgment or bill

\* I believe money lent out at usury is forfeit by law. The laws against what is termed usury are highly unjust, but is it fitting that a nation should do what it punishes in private individuals? It claims the right of dealing in usury, perhaps on the same principle that it claims the right to kill, which it also punishes in private individuals. It is said that a portion of the debt was borrowed as low as L.40 to receive the L.100 pledge.



for L.100 for every L.50 or L.60 lent, they have contrived to increase these 400,000,000 or 500,000,000 to 800,000,000, and this 800,000,000 being now in a currency double the value of the currency at the time of borrowing, the nation has, in consequence, to pay interest for nearly four times the amount of the real value borrowed.

The great increase of the value of money caused by Parliamentary enactment, and the decrease of the supply of gold from the American mines, has doubled all our liabilities, and rendered the industrious portion of the community little better than slaves to the idle portion, the fund-holders, money-lenders, and pensionaries,—reducing vast numbers of the master manufacturers and traders (almost all indeed who have had borrowed capital) to ruin, and greatly diminishing the price of labour.

It is to Sir Robert Peel that the nation is indebted for the bill changing the value of money, and thus robbing his industrious countrymen *by law*. This individual, in league with other money-lenders, pensioners, and receivers of rent, has thus succeeded in doubling the national debt, in greatly impairing the national energies, and in cheating the industrious portion of the community of at least ONE THOUSAND MILLIONS STERLING. *Sir Robert Peel will take rank in British history as the greatest enemy to the prosperity of his country that the British Isles have produced.*



PROSPECTUS OF A JOINT-STOCK COMPANY FOR  
COLONIZING NEW ZEALAND.

Having in the previous sheets recommended in the strongest manner the colonization of New Zealand by the British Government, should the Government not proceed immediately to do so, I would suggest the formation of a New Zealand Joint-Stock Company, of 20,000 shares of L.50 each, affording a colonizing fund of a million sterling—on something like the following scheme :—

*Joint-Stock Regulations.*

- 1st, That every shareholder go out in person, taking one, or two, or more, shares,—if taking two shares, to carry out a woman above twelve years of age.
- 2d, That shareholders, taking several shares, carry out an able-bodied young man above fourteen years of age, and woman above twelve, for every two shares more, and if taking an odd share to take out a young man in lieu.
- 3d, That an economical but wholesome plan of removal be adopted ; each shareholder contributing in proportion to the number and age of his family and settlers under him,—independent of the colonizing fund.
- 4th, That all shareholders and settlers fit to carry arms be embodied in a militia, armed at their own cost—each shareholder being accountable in this for the men he takes out.
- 5th, That the capital of L.1,000,000, be laid out under a committee of management in purchasing land, and surveying and allotting it, in procuring a supply of grain and provisions from India and Europe, during the first two or three years, and in improving the condition of the natives by education and medical treatment. It is expected that the British Government will grant a sum in aid of this latter purpose.



- 6th, That a low land-tax be established to defray the expenses of government, roads, &c.
- 7th, That all exports and imports, in British or Colonial-British vessels, be free of any impost.
- 8th, That the purchased land be allotted to the shareholders in proportion to their shares, under such regulations as the committee of inanagement may direct.
- 9th, That all previous settlers be obliged to join this company, under just and expedient conditions.

*Government Regulations.*

The Colony to be subject to the British Crown, under the following social organization and chartered rights ;—

- 1st, That a colonial Parliament be chosen ; at first by every 100 shareholders electing a representative, and afterwards by such a number of electors as afford 100 representatives.
- 2d, That at first every shareholder only have a vote,—that after a specified number of years, say ten, every freeholder have a vote,—and that after a further specified number of years, every man have a vote.
- 3d, That the colonial parliament enact laws, levy taxes, and appoint a committee of government subject to the approval of the British Crown.
- 4th, That the government committee appoint inferior officials.
- 5th, Excepting at the commencement, that all representatives and government officials be natives of the country, or resident for a specified number of years.

In the above scheme it will be seen that the general interests of the community, of the mother country, and of the Colony, have been alone studied, and not class interests—not the means of providing for the sons of a dominant aristocracy—not the means of bribery, procuring places to the supporters







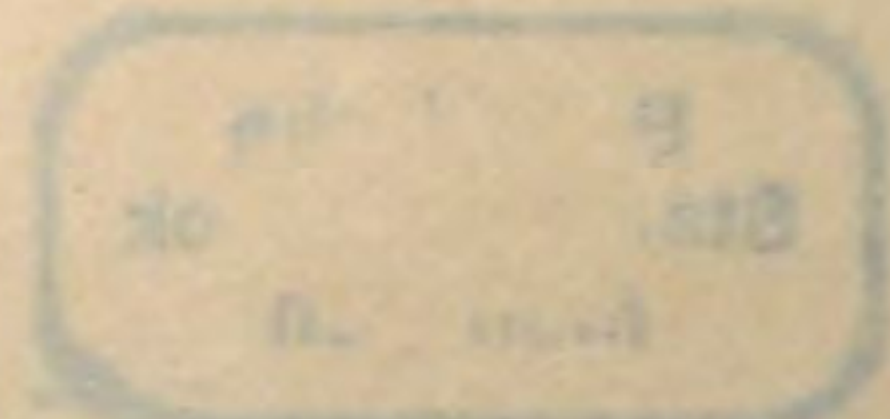
of a government or society who could have for support upon the ability of their government. The only thing the nation could do was to maintain its integrity and power of the Empire be maintained. The sooner the colonies of their Britain are placed upon this self-governing system the better.

The writer would in all probability take a number of shares under the above scheme. Any one who may to join in it may communicate with him by letter postpaid. Branch societies might be formed in all distant parts of the country for effecting the object.

A small paper will be sent to each of the subscribers. It will contain a list of the names of the subscribers and the amount of their contributions. It will also contain a list of the names of the subscribers who have not yet paid their contributions.

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**Obermeier**

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